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OF THE

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PREFACE.

At the stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 14th of February, 1861, it was announced that a large collection of letters and papers, some of them dating back to the earliest period of our Colonial history, had come into the possession of the President of the Society; and, at his request, a Committee was appointed to prepare for publication such of them as they might select for that purpose. Of that appointment, the present volume is the first-fruits. It may be followed hereafter by further selections from the same papers.

The table of contents will sufficiently indicate the character of the volume, and the plan of its arrangement; while the editorial notes will serve to call attention to some points of peculiar interest.

It is believed that but few volumes of our Collections, since the first publication of the Society in 1792, have contained more valuable illustrations of the early history of New England, and of the character of those by whom its various colonies were founded.

The *fac-similes* of signatures and seals from the letters here printed will prove an interesting addition to the volume; and the arms employed by the respective writers may be of service in elucidating some doubtful points of family history.

The Committee desire to acknowledge the valuable aid which they have received from the Assistant Librarian, Dr. Appleton, in preparing the volume for the press.

14th February, 1863.

THE WINTHROP PAPERS.

THE WINTHROP PAPERS.

JOHN HUMFREY* TO ISAAC JOHNSON. 1630.

To the worshipfull my dearely respected & much honoured brother Isaac Johnson Esqr. at Charlestowne in New England.

Dearest brother, — That which is yet new to mee & wherein I must follow your greife a far of, I desire may now grow old & out of date with you; there bee dayes of mourning which it is as meete to set a period unto, as it is seemely & needeful at first to take up. Therefore that I may not *renovare dolores* no more of that. Your late letter by the Gift I received, blessing God for your health & prospering in the midst of all your losses. But good brother beare up, you have as much cause of comfort that so sincerely have devoted your selfe to the service of the Lord in his worke as anie that I know, & for your losses though manie thousand tallents more were gone the Lord were able, & if it bee good will repay. But, ahlasse, I pitie not you in

* John Humfrey was chosen Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Company in October, 1629; but did not come over to New England till 1634. His wife was the Lady Susan, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and sister of the Lady Arbella Johnson. This letter begins with a reference to the death of the Lady Arbella; but her husband, to whom it was addressed, had died also before it was written, as appears by the following notice in Gov. Winthrop's History of New England: "September 30, 1630. — About two in the morning, Mr. Isaac Johnson died; his wife, the Lady Arbella, of the house of Lincoln, being dead about one month before. He was a holy man and wise, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the Colony." — *Savage's Winthrop*, new edition, vol. i. p. 40. — Eds.

this, that have got not onely the upper but the neather springes, & though not supplanted yet got a larger portion of both then manie of your elder brethren, I meane such as were in Christ before you. Blessed bee his name that hath given you a communicating hart for the faithful dispensing your several tallents to his best advantage. Truth is, sweete brother, but that you are worthy of all, &, by that little grace I have, I cannot but reioyce in God's greater gifts to others, I should envie you were it not for sinning against God. Even these outward thinges are excellent instruments of doing good withall, how much more transcendent is the mercie when their is a hart to use them. Well brother you everie way abound in all riches, & blessed bee God that sets you in the way of yet greater increase, the liberal soule shall be made fat & hee that watereth shall bee watered againe. Never could there bee a fairer opportunitie for a full estate to get a full reward then by scattering & casting bread upon such waters. Now the Lord both goe on with inlarging your hart & hand, & minister seede to the sower & a yet more glorious crowne to your fruiteful soule.

Now touching the particulars of your letters breifely. The burthens which I feared after I had some intimation of the slender provisions manie good people made, I laboured what I could to bee helpeful in easing you of. I was on a faire way for a common stocke; got neare 500*l* underwritten, had promise of manie & more probabilities of advancing this stocke. The first rise and advantage I tooke was by that which providence offered in that rumour of the French. Men were somewhat inclinable & workeable to the apprehension of your daunger, & yielding some supplies for succouring your persons against an enimie & securing your estates. But assoone as this dampe of ill report of the state of thinges came from your owne handes, straunge it was to see how little brotherly love wrought in brethren. The designe

was given of as lost, & to make it worse, few shewed anie affection to save those which were likely to perish. Former promises are fled from, that which was underwritten lies unperformed by some & is flatly denied by others. Those wee most depended on, & might have done much, have rather blamed then pitied their poore brethren, laying more loade where the burthen should beene eased. Others gave somewhat, but rather according to their hopes of the busines, then the necessities thereof. So that I see it is in plantations as in warre, men may hope for supplyes from freindes, but without preiudice both of their wisedome & undertakings may not depend upon them. When wee least neede freindes possiblie wee may have them to befreind us, or rather themselves (in hope of some recompence) but brotherly love & conscience of dutie have lost much of their vigour that long since were decaying. Wherefore if wee will neyther blemish the gospel, nor bring upon ourselves that contempt & reproach of the foolish builder, wee must sell our states & beare our owne burthens.

For Mr. Wiggin & your thoughts concerning him, & those who set him on worke, I thinke you will heare little more. Yet your letter shall bee delivered if it bee meete, and accordingly wee shall doe. I purpose this morning to goe to Mr. Downing to advise about it. Hee is the onely man for Councel that is hartily ours in the towne, & yet unlesse you settle upon a good river & in a lesse snowie & cold place I see no great edge on him to come unto us. Wee are all much bound to my lord Say for his cordial advice & true affections. As also to my lord of Warwicke. Sir Natha. Rich deserves much acknowledgment of his wise handling. Sir Ferd. Gorge who from verie high matters is come to this, to desire that his people & planters (by vertue of his sons pattent) may live quietly & uniniured by us; that Jefferie is a bad man, hee basely flings out in his letters to him,

which Sir Ferd. shewed mee: handle him wisely & by no meanes exasperate such spirits. Though Sir Ferd. neyther will nor can doe us much good, yet hee or anie may have eare to doe us hurt. I assured him of your care to right his people in anie iniurie they had or should sustaine, & there was an end for that time. Other passages there were, they are too long to write, when Mr. Allerton comes to you hee will satisfie you of some, whome I acquainted with what past in general.

My lord of Warw: will take a Pattent of that place you writ of for himselfe, & so wee may bee bold to doe there as if it were our owne. Write letters abundantly to him & others, though they deserve them not as hee doth. Much neglect is apprehended by manie of themselves. Dr. Wright & Mr. Davenport must not bee forgotten. Send over what the nature of your diseases are, & the several circumstances & accidents & symptomes of them. Dr. Wright I thinke will bee as readie as hee said to studie & direct fit remedies. I have much more to write, but I would willingly hasten these letters now away, & therefore with my best & most affectionate remembrance of you Mr. Governor, Mr. Nowel, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Coddington &c. &c. &c. I rest

Your trulie & ever loving brother

Jo: Humfrey.

Lond: Dec: 9th. 1630.

I pray you take a noate of my hand up from Sir Richard, or else a noate of his hand for 100*l* I borrowed of him & satisfied againe before he went. — My lord Say told mee hee had writ a letter to you, but I cannot learne where hee hath left it.

I have sent you those new bookes that are lately come out, Dr. Ames' Cases to Mr. Governor which I purpose to send you by the next, & now Dr. Sibs' Bruised Reede & Mr. Dike of Scandals to you.

JOHN HUMFREY TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull his much honoured freind Mr. John Winthrop Governor of the plantation of the Massachusets bay in New England.

Much honoured, — I writ unto you not long since by Mr. Peirce, since which time there is little of anie moment that offers it selfe more then I have (to my present best remembrance) intimated in some of your letters eyther then or now, & though for prevention of anie miscarriage it were meete of all businesses to send several letters of the same thinges, yet I know neyther yours, no more then my present leasure (yet much lesse) will afford much spare time for unnecessaries, whereas (but that hee hath a feeding fountaine of everlasting strength that underprops you) I should feare (& manie times doe) that you will neede time & strength for ordinarie occasions. Therefore I would not overloade you with manie more needeles lines, who are (the Lord keepe you from sin in that your too great zeale of dutie) too to readie to overloade your selfe everie way. Sir I beseech you give mee & manie others occasion to bee thankeful unto you for your more indulgent care of your selfe, as I (above manie) have alreadie an obligation of further love & service laide upon mee for your tender care of my dearest brother. Consider I pray you how inexpiable a failing it were, both in respect of the Lord whose worke you are in, the worke itselfe, the manie lives yea soules that depend upon your well being, not to speake of your deare wife, hopeful & some alreadie hope-answering children, your freindes (who expect that wisedome to bee shewed in your discreete carriage of your selfe in this busines, that to good purpose they have observed in you in other undertakings,) & much lesse to speake of my owne & those that are alike interested in you, who yet of faithful & service-owing freindes should

become most severe & iustly provoked censurers, if you should bee prodigal of your precious health, & so slight all these ingagements with manie more. I seriously professe & that in truth that all the sinnes you ever committed or possiblie can commit (under that unpardonable one) I am perswaded would bee of lesse weight to your conscience then this one. Take heede therefore I beseech you under what specious pretence soever the divel as an Angel of light insinuate himselfe, sugesting the necessitie or great advantage of an exemplarie & selfe denying & selfe neglecting carriage in you, for the animating & confirming the weake harts & hands of others to doe & suffer, following your tracke that else would not find the way; I say take heede least hereby your bodie (not accustomed to hardnes of unusual kindes & not necessitated, unles by a voluntarie & contracted necessitie) should sinke under his burthen & fall to ruine for want of a more conscionable tenaunt. What the Lord layes upon you, hee is able & faithful to enable you unto, & hee that knowes your strength I dare warrant you will exercise it to the utmost, but bee not barbaurously cruel unto your selfe, by thinking eyther to supererrogate or superinduce upon your selfe more then you have strength to beare, & then the Lord in his wisdome & mercie imposeth upon you. Some need the spurre, but you the reine, your exesse may bee of more daungerous consequence then their defect & indeede the greater sin, being this would bee greatest against the publicke, theirs cheifely against their owne private, & but with a reflexive or secondarie respect against the common good. But that it is a case of importance & that wherein your wisedome & pietie as well as your bodie & estate suffer with us all I should not so soone have forgot myselfe to remember you.

I have sent you Dr. Ames' Cases of Conscience, newlie come foorth, wherein you will find manie thinges of especial use & singularly helpeful for present direction

& satisfaction, untill what may not bee answered to the full here, shall both from him & others (best studied in those thinges wherein doubts are like to arise) ere long bee sent unto you, if I faile not in my hopes & endeavours that way. It will much concerne us to seeke (without which wee cannot keepe) the truth in love, whose iudgments & practice may (without good guidance of us in laying the foundation) bee pernicious not onely to ourselves, but to our posterities, & all ages (in those parts at least) after us. And therefore as wee find, & you foresaw, there will neede great wisdome, much advice, earnest prayer, & a total subiugation of our owne iudgment, wills & affections, unto the clearer light of truth shining unto us in those helpes which the Lord shall be pleased to affoord unto us. For Pro. 14, 29. certainely, as they who are immaturely precipitate in their councels or actions, are thereby but advancers of follie, & they who looke not to their feete in such weightie considerations, & are not readie to seeke & heare advice must needes offer the sacrifice of fooles not considering Eccl. 1. 2. that they doe evil, & if it bee daungerous to utter a thing rashly before God with ones mouth, how much more to conclude determinately of thinges not well examined, which is as it were to answer a matter before it bee heard, which is both follie & shame. Prov. 18. 13. So the Lord will not beare with anie cursed negligence in our not seeking, digging, & crying after wisedome, to bee directed in so important a worke as is the recoverie of anie allmost-lost truthes: Neyther will it answer the maiestie of those truthes of God nor our owne humble esteeme of ourselves, & our right iudgment of our owne weakenesses, to thinke with the first glaunce of our eyes to discerne clearely, what the most iudicious & holy men have beene dazeled in & differed about. Rather let us heare what the Lord saith by them, & so far as they weigh everie pinne of the tabernacle in the scales of the Sanctuarie, follow & obey them; where anie, yea though an Angel from heaven, shall obtrude

anie thing upon us without warrant from the word, avoide them, yea let them bee in that Anathematized.

For the place of fixing yourselves, it is sollicitously agitated by manie good & noble freindes where it were best & safest; to the South they conclude, as it is warmer, & (report gives out) the snow even at Narraganset lies lesse while, so doe they conceave it will bee everie way better, especiallie if wee could come in upon Hudson's river, (which as Mr. Allerton affirmes meetes with Canada) with cleare warrant in respect of the planters & natives there, to remove our choice people thither & to leave the mixt multitude (that will ever bee as thornes & prickes unto us) behind us, as tenaunts in our houses & of our lands. Now though the bodie of our best people neede not presently move, yet after discoverie & resolution some workemen might bee sent before to provide in some sort for those good people who shall the yeare following, hence & from you, transplant themselves. For this end I hope wee shall send you a barke for discoverie with some corne in her, & if this bee resented & prosecuted by you, & some new & better satisfaction bee given to the good people here that wee goe not away for Separation, the apprehension whereof (against the best assurance & protestation I can make) takes deepe impression in them, I hope wee shall againe redintegrate both ourselves & the undertaking in the former good opinion which hath beene conceaved of us & it. The opinion of this place you are in, partly in those & in respect of the sharpenes of the cold & continuance of the snow, partly in respect of the several titles & pretencions of several men, togeather with the implantation of manie lewde persons among us, who will ever bee espying out our Libertie, & bee as Tobiah, Sanballat & the rest both to hinder the building & to further & promove all uniust accusations, eyther finding or making matter of complaint alwayes against us, these considerations much dampe & dull the edge of some of good estates

who were looking towards us. These thinges I leave to your wise & serious consideration, being sorrie, that once in, I can scarce get out, & so having overpast my word & my time for the present, with my due respect & service, my poore prayers & best endeavours for you & the worke though to little purpose,

Your trulie loving & honouring

LONDON, Dec. 12th, 1630. JO: HUMFREY.

Sir, I pray you take course that the 150*l* which Mr. White had of mee to lay out for corne may by some meanes bee made good unto mee here by Mr. Peirces retourne, that that & the rest of the monie due unto mee from the Arbella Companie since the last yeare, may helpe mee over unto you with Mr. Peirce againe. All the monie that I can make otherwise is now alreadie eyther out, or to bee imployed in this barke with your sonne for securing of you with certaine supplies (if God blesse them several wayes) least some should faile.

JOHN HUMFREY TO ISAAC JOHNSON.

DEARE & MUCH ESTEEMED FREIND & BROTHER, — I sent the last weeke by the Carriour letters & 3 or 4 bookes bound up togeather to bee delivered by you to the Master of your ship now going; I pray you with those let these bee delivered. I expect to heare from you daily about certificate from Bristol of the provisions thence shipped or exported, that according to former advice wee may worke as there is occasion & the Lord (by such meanes as he shall vouchsafe) shall see good. The same Lord in goodnes goe along with you, prosper, accept, and reward the labour of your effectual love. You much oblige all both there & here that wish well to the persons or worke in hand,

especiallie him that with his best affections & service of love shall ever desire to approve himselfe

Your trustie loving

Jo: Humfrey.

Dec. 17th 1630.

If there bee anie thing forgotten by our freindes or myselfe that you remember, & know to bee useful & necessarie unto them, I pray you adde that to your present provisions as far as 20, 30, or 40*l* may goe, but this I would neyther trouble you withall, nor yet further burthen my selfe by, except in case & thinges of deepe necessitie. I pray you remember to bring up an exact particular of the several thinges bought with that 220*l*, that it may bee my discharge to the Treasurer & his & mine to the companie togeather. My servaunt Richard Wright living at Sagus writes to me for 5*l* in monie, if you think it better or fitter then provisions for commutation to get what they neede by, I pray you you send it to him & charge mee with it here upon sight.

JOHN HUMFREY TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull his much honoured freindes Mr. John Winthrop governour of the Companie of the Massachusets & to Mr. Isaac Johnson or eyther of them.

Much honoured, — Since I last writ unto you I received these inclosed answers* from a reverend freind, whose name because hee desires it may be concealed as yet, I will not tell you, onely you may know, it is one whose person you much desire, & whose iudgment you & all men much esteeme. I confesse plainely in divers thinges I was perswaded otherwise then. I see now some cause to stumble mee in regard of his sound pietie & deepe iudgment

* Nothing was found enclosed in this letter, as it comes down to us. — Eds.

& long acquaintance both with the person[s,] places & studies which might enable him to a cleare discerning of the will of God in these thinges. Now the good God that hath promised to teach those that feare him in the way that they shall chuse, to guide the meeke in iudgment & to teach them his way, give you a discerning of those things that differ, & help you by his wisedome to behave yourselves wisely in a perfect way. 101 ps. And as the nature of the worke in hand & the curious inspection of the malevolent Spirits require to proceede warilie & with good examination & digestion of the best advices, which yet I will further endeavour to procure from other godly men for your helpe herein.

Such newes as is stirring I doubt not but other letters will acquaint you withall, as the proclamation of the peace with Spaine: what the conditions are in particular touching the Palatinate I yet h[ear] not: in general it is said the King of Spaine is to restore all the townes hee hath in the Palatinate: but Mr. Peters in my last nights letters received informes mee that the Emperour deales vilie with the King of Bohemia. Dr. Laiton hath after an escape beene taken & received halfe of his censure, viz, 12 lashes with a 3 corded whip, one eare cut of, one nostril slit & stygmatized in the face. Divers godly lecturers & ministers dayly are put by. Mr. Weld of Essex is now upon the stage & expects his doome. I think hee will bee easilie for us. Dr. Ames holds his first affections to you & the worke, notwithstanding the late neglect of him, in not giving a word eyther to him or of him. I wrote to him excusing all as well as I could, & the good man takes nothing amisse for ought I understand. Your sister Downing after a daungerous & long sickenes begins (blessed be God) to gather strength. Hasten your call to Mr. Haines, it were not amisse there were some blanke call for such as providence shall offer, & shall sticke at that knot. Mr. Downing, my selfe, & some others

have given Mr. Hooker a call lately. Ere long wee shall see the effect of it. I hope with these you will receave my letters & bookes sent the last weeke to Barnstable for this ship of Mr. Allerton's to carrie to you, that also bringes the greatest part of your provisions. The Lord ever keepe you & make his name glorious in & by you, in whome I am

Yours what I am

Jo: H.

Lond: Dec. 18th, 1630.

I pray you as there is occasion doe for me in mine, as I shall bee & am readie to my best abilities to doe for you & yours. The providence in bringing so speedie an answer, as if windes & all meanes were commanded to expedite an answer to the questions, is observable. It is not 6 weekes since the questions were sent away, & over Sea & much passage of land they are retourned answered in as little time as one would have thought they could but have reached his handes to whome they were sent. Hee who hath thus ordered it knowes the use of it.

JOHN HUMFREY TO ISAAC JOHNSON.

To the worshipfull his much honoured brother Isaac Johnson Esq. at Charlestowne in New England.

Dearest brother, — I cannot but take everie occasion of writing so that you will have manie letters by the same ship from mee, in so much as (I feare) my letters may bee burthensome unto you. But I had rather exceede in all expressions of loving remembrance of you, than fall short, & rather chuse to venture to bee blamed for the excesse, then to have you & my owne hart chide mee for the least defect. I writ unto you in several letters by Mr. Peirce of my poore desires & endeavours for your supplies several wayes. That of Virginia is like to hold, & I hope you will

have a good quantitie of Indian corne thence before May, the ship is to goe directly to Virginia about the midst of Januarie: & whereas I hoped to have had the same ship to have gone by Ireland & taken in 4 or 500 quarters of Irish corne, & so to have delivered that outward bound unto you, & after to have proceeded in the Virginia designe; I was not able, by all the meanes I could use, to get so manie to venture, as would make up this vessel a fraite of 60 or 70 tun. Mr. Craddocke indeede would have stucke by mee, & (I thinke) sent & lent 20 tun to the plantation, besides him not a man (no, not to save your lives & the life of the worke in you) would doe anie thing to purpose. Oh my good brother there is no depending upon men, no not those who professe themselves & wee take to bee most our freindes. For if a freind loveth at all times & a brother is borne for the day of adversitie, then surely among men wee have few true freindes, or else, sometimes the dutie of love is to bee dispenced withall (at least in the fruites thereof) or else this (wherein your lives could not but bee apprehended to lie at stake & more then that too) was not the day of adversitie. Oh it is a sweete & sure thing to have all our dependance upon the faithfulnes & kindnes of our loving, good & gracious God, but they that trust unto or depend upon anie of the sonnes of men, they may come to the pits, but usuallie retourne ashamed. Yet that the Lord may shew his faithfulnes in the unfaithfulnes of men, hee raiseth up stones, & maketh the barren to beare us fruits of his love, whereas they whose full breasts wee depend upon will let downe no dramme or drop of needed helpe proportionable to our necessities or their engagements. I never saw so much of man, nor ever dreamed there was so little to bee had when so much might iustly bee expected as now I find. The Lord sanctifie our experience unto us & teach us that wisedome that wee may neyther bee imbittered against them, nor cruel to ourselves in depending on them.

Mr. Craddocke is verie much affected with the report of an unkindnes wherein (by consent) hee heares you were all interested; thus he relates it. When you saw a necessitie of easing the plantation of manie eyther by sending them backe or giving way unto them to dispose of themselves, consultation was had what was to bee done touching his servants who were found to bee the worst, & complained of as the most burthensome of all the rest. To send manie of them backe was held to bee the best way, both for the plantations good & his, but because there was expectation of the retourne of his ships with provision & Cattle, Mr. Sharpe advized that it were best to deferre this, till his ships retourned againe, least that (seeing his numbers to decrease so much, & his particular not to neede so large supplies) the plantation should loose the benefit of what helpe hee might affoord with a purpose of supplying his owne. So that this is his collection, in that this was hearkened unto, that you cared not what burthen you laide upon, or what iniurie you did unto him so that &c. If it were thus (as report gives this, as well as other thinges that will admit a like misconstruction to be worse) I feare least hereby wee should provoke not onely those whose edge is not æquallie dulde with other mens as yet, but the Lord our God also who will not countenance anie uniust acts of his best servants. And trulie of all those that here are interested in the plantation there is none that retaines so lively affections unto you as himselfe, nor that is more likely, or more able to doe us real courtesies (especiallie with the state) than himselfe, & answerablie that being provoked is like to doe us more iniurie & hurt.

Mr. Goffe stood a long while, both in his owne & other mens repute, in an ambiguous or rather desperate estate, but at length (by the favour & mercie of his creditours & God in them) obtaines hope of subsisting in his former calling. His debts from the plantation are transferd

over to manie honest men (who pittying his sufferings & observing how they reflected in the general acceptation upon the plantation) have promised to lend him so much monie as may set him in a way of trade againe. So that it will more than ordinarilie (not onely for iustice sake (which is the cheife) but for our owne sakes) concerne us to take such a faire course with him, as unto the passionate expressions of his much distempered & much to bee compassionated (though iustly to bee reproved) weakenesses of Spirit, wee adde not the deeper-wounding taxations of divers of our godly freindes, (who, if anie, are likely to be helpeful to us in future times *concilio*, *auxilio*, *re*), that are now interested in this cause. That which I labour to quiet him withall viz. Mr. Goffe, & to satisfie & assure his freindes of, is, that upon manifestation of the accounts as they trulie stand betweene him & anie of the plantation, such course will be taken by giving him speedie yea immediate content thereon (both for what was due & for the time since it was first due) as anie indiffirent men shall thinke reasonable. Now I beseech you take it so seriously to hart as wee may not staine that glorie which will bee a good defince against the stormie windes &c. as in Job's case, Samuel's, Jeremie's & others. Though there bee a Spirit in mee that (upon my sufferings from him more than anie) lusts otherwise, yet I dare not give way to it. I have parted with his house, & live now next Dr. Denisons by Kree Church, much adoe I have to carrie my selfe so towards him (being ever vindicating the plantation from his & other mens charges) as to keepe anie faire quarter. I will not trouble you to relate such shrewde collections as hee gathereth from seeing how much adoe your freindes & agents here have to supply your present necessities: What (saith hee) should I have done or would they (meaning the plantation) if more cattle had come alive, or I had gone on with my Irish voiage; hee saith they seeke evasions, not so much because hee

hath not performed his part, as because they are not able to make good theirs. Otherwhiles hee will speake, & hope all good of & from the plantation: but I wish there may not bee anie occasion given from whence hee or anie may blemish our godly purposes.

The Spanish peace is concluded & proclaimed as I intimated (now I remember it) in my last weeke's letter. The Bishop of London hath silenced manie godly men of late, this last Monday Mr. Archer is by him silenced for all England, the cause is taken from his iudgment declared in a Sermon (which I thinke you heard) that wee ought not to bow our knee at the name Jesus. The least good newes from you is like to bring enough unto you, both men & monie; for the present wee have resolved (taking that Councel from necessitie) to leave the sollicitation of our common stocke, Mr. Downing conceaving that everie pennie now (as it were by begging) received, may hinder us it may bee pounds afterwards, which (when thinges are thriving) men will helpe on, though they will not helpe up when they are under foote. *Cum fueris felix* &c. *nullus ad* &c.* Dr. Ames, as great a blessing & blessing bringer (if his remove bee clearely warrantable) as wee could desire, continues his hartie affection to us. I received & sent last weeke that by which you will know *ex ungue leonem*. My dearest love unto you & Mr. Governor with all the lovers of the Lord Jesus with you. Salute I pray you all the brethren especially Mr. Dudlie, Mr. Nowel, [Mr.] Coddington, Mr. Broadistreete theirs & the rest of our godly freindes; from your loving & deepely engaged brother

Jo: Humfrey.

Londo. Dec. 23, 1630.

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* The writer undoubtedly intended to recall the lines of Ovid (Trist. i. Eleg. ix.):—

"Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos,
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.
. . . . . .
Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes." Eds.

JOHN HUMFREY TO [JOHN WINTHROP].*

Much honoured, — I was both yesterday morning & night to have attended you but at both times too late. This morning I doubted I should have beene as much too earlie for you, as I was by some unexpected detention too late for my owne occasions. Yet being further necessitated to stay at Charlestowne, I thought good to satisfie my selfe rather then you, in revolving the cause of that diminution of your wonted respect which upon unapprehended premisses I could not divine. So that now contrarie to my former apprehensions, I rather wonder you were not more alienated from mee, conceaving mee to be under that guilt (which I blesse God I am not) then that you were so much. However I know your greater latitude both of parts & pietie steares your practice beyond my reach, yet why (so conceaving of mee) should you not with compassion or feare (pulling out of the fire) explicate & set in ioint a forlorne & sin deceaved wretch? Your tendernes in other kindes hath sometimes manifested itselfe; for which I have blessed God & you in my feeble expressions. The proportions of the bowels of Christ mee thinkes should have much more expresd themselves herein. And yet I must acknowledge your Joseph like tendernes in this with all due thankefulnes, both in regard of my owne particular, & my relations to our common engagements. Wherein the Lord shall be pleased to enable & enlarge mee to further expressions of thankefulnes to him & your selfe, I trust I shall studiously & sincerely endeavour to husband his grace. Onely I beseech you in the name, & for the honour of our common Saviour, not to suffer mee to goe blindfolded with the deceipts of anie sinne, where

* There is no date to this letter. It was probably written to the elder Winthrop, while Humfrey was in New England, between 1634 and 1641. — Eds.

eyther your clearer light or godly iealousies may have occasion to expresse themselves. For though I know no sinne my soule desires approvingly to make anie league withall; yet I experimentallie know my heart is desperately deceitful, & God the Searcher of harts can discover more of mee to others, then hee may be pleased to doe unto my selfe, at least for a time. If anie such case & time fall out by the permission of God in the revolution of anie of my fibrous corruptions, though you should not (which yet I ever hope you shall) have thankes from mee, yet you shall not (you know) goe without a full reward from him who covers a multitude of sinnes in them who seeke to reduce & save anie sinsicke soule. My paper & time (though your patience should not) confine mee. I am though your weake & God's wicked, yet I hope (at least out of gusts of temptations) the sincere servant of both. Jo: Humfrey.

My busines yesterday morning was to tender the paiment of that debt of love to you which you have wished to mee, viz. to supply you (if your occasions requirde) with such monies as I had to spare from my pressing necessities. Your least word or intimation shall commaund what is left.

JOHN HUMFREY TO JOHN WINTHROP JR.*

To his worthy deare friend Jo. Winthrop Esq these in hast.

Dearest & most desired Sir, — You are a thousand times wellcome home, & should be 1000000000000000 times to mee if you would goe along with mee. I beseech you if you see the wind chops about contrarie, & hold there, come downe, I will beare your charges of the Post, & you shall

* This letter was addressed to the younger Winthrop, after Humfrey had returned "home" in affliction, and while the former was temporarily in England. — Eds.

doe no worse (but as much better as you will & I can helpe it) then I. Indeede I thinke you should have beene with us before. I have laine winde bound here these 5 weekes yet not daring to budge an inch, expecting everie day our ships coming, which have laine in like case this fortnight at Cowes. But this morning the wind springs up faire, & I hope the ships will be suddenly in with us. Good deare loving Sagamore, let us have your companie if possible. If you can be helpefull anie way to my poore familie I know you neede not be intreated. I heare they want monie. I pray speake to my good freind Mr. Waring (to whome, with his, my best respects with all thankes for all manner of kindnes) I know hee will not see them in miserie that are cast upon them. About sixe pounds a month I suppose will doe their turne sufficiently, the rest I would gladly should goe to the paying of debts except that which you shall neede thereof, & by vertue hereof I inable you to take for your (if) emergent necessities. With my love & my love over & over & through & through I rest

Your most affectionate foolish faithfull

Jo: Humfrey.

Weymouth Jul. 21. 42.

WILL AND LETTERS OF ISAAC JOHNSON.

WILL OF ISAAC JOHNSON.*

This is the last will and testament of mee Isacke Johnson of Boston in the Com of Lincoln esquier made the twentieth day of Aprill in the Third yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Charles Kinge of England Scotland Frannce and Ireland &c beinge in some distemper of body But in good and perfect vnderstandinge and memory: ffor my soule I shall willingly resigne itt into the hands of my God thorough Jesus Crist when hee shall please to call for itt: ffor my body I leave itt to be buryed in the Churchyard of Boston in such maner and with such funerall expences and with such Tomb or stone to be sett over the place where my body shall lye and with such inscripcon to be wrytten thereon as shall seeme good to my executors hereafter named: ffor my temporall estate I dispose of itt in this maner followinge ffirst I giue and devise to my honourable and dearely beloved wife over and aboue the Lands already conveyed to her for her life in Joincture before our entermarryage All that wood and wood ground called or knowen by the name of Eystowe

* Hutchinson (i. 16, note) refers to a will of Johnson, "uncancelled, and which remains on the Massachusetts files, executed April 28, in the fifth of King Charles." It has been searched for in vain, however, since Hutchinson described it. His citations from it generally correspond with the above will; and it would naturally be inferred that he had erred in the date of the execution, were there not a few apparent discrepancies in other respects. Hutchinson also refers to a later will of Johnson; probably the one copied by Mr. Savage from the "Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury," and published in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii., 3d series, pp. 244, 245. The will here printed is valuable as furnishing information in regard to its author's condition and circumstances before he came over to New England. — See, in relation to Johnson's wills, a letter of Jo: Bradinge (26 May, 1631), among the miscellaneous letters in this volume. — Eds.

wood alias Eyshawe wood standing lyeing and being in Stretton in the Com of Rutland conteyninge by estymacon betweene Eight score and Nyne score acres be the same more or lesse And also all those closes of pasture arrable or wood ground lyeing and beinge in Pickworth in the said Com of Rutland called or knowen by the name of Pickworth Stockinges all which I lately purchased to mee and my heires of George Boteler of Lee Lodge in the said Com of Rutland Esqr: To have and to hold vnto my said wife for and dureinge the tearme of her naturall life: which lands I soe bequeath vnto her in performance & satisfaccon of one obligacon made by mee heretofore to the right honourable Theophilus Earle of Lyncoln brother of my said wife or to some other to her vse wherein I stand bound in a great some of money with condicon to this purpose that I shall assure vnto or for my said wife one hundreth pounds by the yeare for her life more than her Joincture before menconed, which lands hereby devysed vnto her are of the value of six score pounds by the yeare or neare thereabouts and soe will more then performe the intencon of the said obligacon and the condicon thereof: provyded alwayes that if the said Earle of Lyncoln or such other persone or persones to whome I stand bound in the said obligacon shall not deliver the said obligacon to my executors within six monethes after my decease to be cancelled or in case the said obligacon cannot be found if then my said wife and the said Earle or such other persone or persones to whome I stand bound as aforesaid shall not within six monethes after my decease make seale and delyver a generall release to my said executors whereby the said obligacon may be avoyded and discharged that then this present gyfte and devise concerninge the said Eystowe wood or Eyshawe wood and the wood-ground and the said closes called Pickworth Stockinges shal be void and of none effect: and Provyded also vnder the same penalty that my said

wife shall permytt and suffer such wood as is already sold to be quyetly remooved and carryed away of from the said ground by those whoe have bought the same: Item I give and bequeath more to my said wife as a testymony of my true love and bounty towards her my lease of my howse in Boston aforesaid and three mylch beasts and three geldinges and also Three hundreth pounds of Lawfull money beinge parte of that ready money which I nowe have in my howse and also all my howshold stuffe and plate and English bookes of Dyvinyty intreatinge her to use the same to God's honour and to be helpfull to my executors in delyveringe them all my wryteinges evydences & bookes that thereby they may be enabled for the execucon of this my will: Item I give and devise to my dearely beloved and reverenced ffather Abraham Johnson esquier all that and those my manour and manours of and in Braunston alias Braundiston in the Com of Northampton and all my lands tenements and heredytaments in Braunston aforesaid and in Braunston Bury in the said Com of Northampton and all my revercon and revercons thereof and also all that my manour of Glenfeild in the Com of Leicester and all my lands tenements and heredytaments there To have and to hold to him my said ffather and to his heires forever: Provyded alwaies nevertheles That if my said ffather his heires or assignes shall not well and truely pay vnto my executors hereafter named within one yeare next after the day of my decease at or in the porch of Boston Church in the said Com of Lincoln the some of Twelve hundreth pounds of lawfull money of England That then this present gifte and devyse of my said manours of & in Braunston and Glenfeild and all the lande and premisses there shalbe vtterly void and of none effect And then and in that case my Will is that my said executors shall have the said manour and lands of and in Braunston alias Braundiston and sell the same and the inherytance thereof unto whom they shall

thincke meete that soe they may pay themselves the said Twelve hundreth pounds with the interest thereof and delyver the overplus to my said ffather and his heires: Item I give and devise to my beloved brother Samuell Johnson eldest sonne of my said ffather by his second wife nowe lyveinge in present possession my manour of Clypsham in the Com of Rutland and all my messuages cottages lands tenements and heredytaments in Clypsham aforesaid (which my wife holdeth not in Joincture for her life and which is not hereby in this my will given or devised to her and to John Wheeler my servant for such estates and tearmes as are herein menconed) and also the revercon and revercons of all my said lands tenements and heredytaments with their appurtenances in Clypsham, Stretton, and Pickworth aforesaid after the determynacon or expiracon of the said tearmes & estates hereby given or devised to my said wife and servant John Wheeler and after the determynacon of my wyves Joincture as is aforesaid: To have and to hold the said manour lands tenements heredytaments revercon and revercons to my said brother Samuell Johnson and his heires forever: Item I give & devise to my said servant John Wheeler for his faithfull & painefull service performed to mee in my life tyme all that messuage or tenement in Clypsham aforesaid with two little closes neere vnto the same and one or two closes of arrable belongeing to the said messuage all which is reputed to be Thirty acres or thereabouts beinge nowe in the tenure of one Robert Lorrington whoe holdeth the same by lease paroll from Mr. Robert Johnson my graundfather To have and to hold the same and the rent of seaven pounds by the yeare reserved vpon the said lease to the said John Wheeler and such woman as hee shall first take to wife, for and during their naturall lyves, and the life of the longer lyver of them: Item I give to my servant Robert Dyxie for his like faithfull service Thyrty pounds in money and to my servant Phillip Johnson

ffyfty pounds in money or one annuytie or yearely rente of Twenty nobles for and dureinge the tearme of his naturall life to be paid him vpon the ffyve and twentieth day of March and the nyne and twentieth day of September or within ten dayes after at the Church porch of Boston aforesaid by equall porcons The first payement thereof to be made and begin vpon such other said dayes as shall next happen after the day of my decease: which said somme of ffyfty pounds or Twenty nobles by the yeare I doe hereby will shalbe paid vnto him by my executors at the choise of my said executors which they shall thincke to be meetest for his advancement: Item I give to Thomas Edgly my servant Twenty nobles and to Edward Greene my servant ffyve pounds and to John Ravensdale my servant Three pounds: Item I give to be bestowed for good vses as my executors and Mr. Cotton of Boston shall thincke meete one hundreth pounds, and towards the reliefe of my poore distressed Cristian brethen in the Palatinate Twenty pounds and for the reliefe and educacon of yonge Germanes here in England I give Twelve pounds by the yeare for foure yeares: Item I give to the most worthyly honoured Lord the Lord Viscount Say and Seale as a testymony of the due affeccon I owe to his vertues my yonge stoned horse intreatinge him to accept thereof: Item I give to my reverend grandfather Mr. Doctor Chaderton as a testeymony of my thanckfulnes for my educacon vnder him ffyve peices of Two and twenty shillinges a piece, and the like somme to my worthy grandmother his wife: Item I give to my beloved mother in lawe the lease of certaine lands which my ffather formerly graunted mee, which lands lye in or neere Molton in the Com of Lincoln and are worth foure pounds and a noble yearely more then the rent reserved thereupon: ffor the rest of my brethren and sisters I have remembred them hereafter in this my will: Item I give to my most reverend and deare freind Mr. John Cotton Minister of

Boston Thirty pounds and a gowne cloath: Item I give to my very lovinge freind John Butler of Okeham gent ffyve pounds and fforty shillinges to my good freind his wife besides the ffyve marcks by the yeare due to him by my graundfathers will intreatinge him to be helpfull to my executors in the execucon of my will as hee can: Item I give to my lovinge freind Mr. Henry Rastall of Stamford fforty shillinges and to my loving freind his wife Twenty shillinges: Item I forgive my kinsman Henry Stafford the Three score pounds and odd money due to mee as executor to my grandfather and Thirty pounds of that money which I since lent him vpon condicon that he pay Twenty pounds or Thirty pounds due besides vnto mee to my executors within three monethes after my decease: Item I give to the Towne Clerck of Stamford Mr. Richard Bucher for his former service and freindship to my grandfather and my selfe and in hope of the helpe he will afford to my executors in the execucon of this my will Twenty nobles: Item I give to my good freind Mr. Jonathan Tongue and his wife Twenty shillinges a piece: Item I give to Mr. Vicars the minister of Stamford ffyve pounds: Item I give to the old hospitall in Okeham the money that is yett to receave vpon the bonds of John Beaver, and Twenty pounds in money: Item I give and devise to my kinsman Mr. William Walker of Stamford the revercon of all my lands tenements and heredytaments in Stamford aforesaid in the said Com of Lincoln after the decease of my aforesaid ffather Abraham Johnson whoe hath the evidences thereof: To have and to hold vnto the said William Walker and his heires for ever: Provyded alwayes nevertheless that if the said William Walker shall not within two yeares next after the decease of my said ffather pay satisfy and discharge all such debts as my grandfather Mr. Robert Meadowes did owe at the tyme of his decease and which are yett vnpaid whether the same be due upon specyalty or without specyalty,

(except such debts as were or are due by him to my said ffather Abraham Johnson) that then this present gyft and devise shall cease and be voyd: And then I give and devise the same revercon of the said lands to my executors and their heires To the intent that they shall sell the inherytance thereof to whome they shall thinke meete and pay the said debts due by my said grandfather Robert Meadowes and give the overplus of the money which shalbe receaved for the sale thereof vnto the said William Walker and his heires: Item vpon the said proviso before menconed I give to the said William Walker all such moneyes as hee oweth mee which I thincke is about thirty poundes otherwise I will that my executors dispose of it as hereafter I shall appointe: To my Cosen Nathanael Turner I give ffyve pounds: To the poore people of Boston I give ffoure pounds and to the poore of Stamford ffoure pounds To the poore of Braunston three pounds To the poore of Clypsham fforty shillinges: and to the poore of North Luffenham fforty shillinges: All other my lands leases stattutes recognizances bonds bills debts monyes horses beasts sheepe and other goods and chattells whatsoever I give to my worthyly esteemed freinds Richard Bellingham of Boston in the Com of Lincoln esquier and to Thomas Dudley of the same Towne & Com gent whome I doe hereby make executors of this my last will and testament my will beinge herein further expressed that my said executors shall therewith iustly and truely pay my debts which I owe to every persone as the same shall growe due and that they shall pay the charge of my funerall expenses which I will shall not exceede the charge of ffifty pounds (vnles my executors shall see necessary cause to the contrary) in blacke tombe or otherwise and also that they shall pay to themselves whatsoever costs charges and expences they shall expend or be putt vnto for by reason or in respect of this my will or the probate or execucon thereof or of any

thinge tending thereunto eyther in suytes at lawe or otherwise and lastly that the overplus of my said personall estate after my debts legacyes and funerall expences & charges shalbe defrayed shall by my said executors be equally devyded into three parts, one parte whereof I will shal be given to my said deare ffather a second parte to my beloved brethren and sister and the other third parte to my poore kindred especyally and cheifely to my grandfather Johnson's brother's children And if the surplusage of the estate shall amount to Eighteene hundreth pounds I will that my Cosen John Johnson of Cambridge Stationer shall have at the least ffyfty pounds thereof: Item I give to my executors for their paynes and love in takeinge upon them the execucon of this my last will and testament as followeth viz: To Mr. Richard Bellingham Twenty pounds by the yeare for three yeares next ensuyinge the day of my decease and to Mr. Thomas Dudley thirty pounds by the yeare for the like tearme and a geldinge and my bookes (except those hereafter given to my wife) for his former helpfulnes to mee and because the waight of the buisnes will most lye vpon him: And I will that my executors doe pay all the legacyes which are yet vnpaid of my grandfathers will And that for the doeinge thereof and the payinge of the legacyes now given by my selfe my executors shall have a yeare and six monethes to pay them in or sooner if they can: Item I give my little English bookes of Dyvinyty to my deare wife: Also I will that all postscripts and Codicells which shall hereafter be added or annexed to this my will by mee in my life tyme shalbe my will also and shalbe of equall valydytie with this my will formerly wrytten.

In wytnes whereof I the said Isack Johnson have to every sheete of paper wherein this my Will is wrytten subscrybed my name and sett to my Seale and published the same to be my Will in the presence of those whose names are vnderwrytten.

Postscript: Item I give the advowson and right of patronage of the Rectory and parishe Church of Clipsham in the Com of Rutland vnto my afore said executors Richard Bellingham and Thomas Dudley and to Mr. John Cotton the nowe minister of Boston and to the longer lyver of them.

Isa: Johnson.

Wytnesses of the publishing hereof

John Humfrey
Thomas Hill
George Clapham
John Clapham.

CICELY CHADERTON* TO ISAAC JOHNSON.

To my verie loving nephew Mr. Isack Johnson at North Luffenham, give these.

Beloved Isaake, — My true and vnfayned loue I commend to you and to the Lady your wife, for whom I cordially desire that her virtue and piety may exceed her honour, and then she is truly honourable every way. Good Isaak, I haue received (partly by your letters, partly by your speech to my selfe, to Doctour Preston, & others) many smooth and good words: now is the time you are to manifest deeds æquivalent, and then I shall well perceiue that it was not a bare pleasing perfume that vanisheth. I cannot expresse to you how much I was greived at the

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* Cicely Chaderton was the wife of Rev. Lawrence Chaderton, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, — one of the Puritan divines nominated by King James to attend the Hampton-Court Conference in 1603, and one of the translators of the Bible. He died in 1640, at a very advanced age. Abraham Johnson married, for his first wife, Anne Meadows (mother of Isaac), daughter of Robert Meadows of Stamford: his second wife was the sole child of Lawrence Chaderton, and Cicely his wife; who, therefore, was indirectly "grandmother" of Isaac Johnson, but directly of his half brothers and sister, children of Elizabeth (Chaderton) Johnson. — Clarke's Lives, p. 145; Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 340; Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, ii. 333, *n.*; Brook, Lives of the Puritans, ii. 445; Rose, Biog. Dictionary; N.E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, viii. 359. — Eds.

hearing of your Grandfather's Will, yet (as God knoweth) not soe much for the littlenesse of legasies to your ffather, and your Brothers, as for the blemmish of his reputation, who was so eminent for wisdome and wealth. Sweet Isacke, as you loue God, and the creditt of his gospell which you professe, and mee your true loving grandmother, who doe desire your good every way, agree with your ffather without suits in law, which will be both scandalous to others, and wastfull to yourselues. If I be put to it, I must, and will sweare truly to the articles of contract, and the note of inducement, by which I was drawne to accept of the match, which I had formerly denyed. But *verbum sapienti satis.*

I haue sent you one doozen of gloves, and haue payd the glover, who hath abated of the price specified in his note, viz: for two doozen of gloves with facing and fringe 50*s:* for two doozen of plaine gloves 20*s:* soe you owe mee 20*s*, which you may give to Sam: for mee. My good will was to haue come to you with my husband, on purpose to be acquainted with my Lady your wife, but some impediments haue put it of, but not taken it away: I waite for the next opportunity and even soe, comending my selfe to your first and second selfe, I commend vs all to the gratious blessing of God in Christ Jesus, remayning while I am, or haue a beeing on earth

Your loving grandmother CICELY CHADERTON.

AUG. 24 1625.

ISAAC JOHNSON TO EMANUEL DOWNING.

To my much esteemed worthy frend Mr. Downinge att his howse in Fleetestreete neere the Cunditt give these, with Speed.

GOOD MR. DOWNINGE,—The tumultuousnes of my owne affayres uppon my cominge down was such, as I forgatt to send to you accordinge to my intention, to know when you were determined for Lincolnshire; that so I might

the fittlyer haue disposed my self and my occasions, that I might haue beene wholly yours. That which then I omitted, I must endeavour to supplye att this Tyme in my entreatyes to you to send mee word when it will bee and where: If you please to send, now or att any other Tyme, any letters to one Mr. Churchill a Cuttler neere Holborne Cunditt, they will be conveyed to mee. This Carier comes out of London Tuesday morninge. It had beene an excellent Tyme for Mr. Winthorpe to haue beene this Commencement att Cambridge, where I heare are many reverend Divines, to consider of Mr. White's call. Lett me entreat to be remembred to him, when you haue occasion to write to him. So expecting you both heere ere it bee long, with the acknowledgment of much beholdingnes to you for many undeserved fauors, I am forced to break off, restinge Your assured frend

Isa. Johnson.

Sempringham July 8, 1629.

ISAAC JOHNSON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To ye Right Worshipfull my much esteemed kinde Frend John Winthrop, Esqr. at Groton in Suffolke giue these.

Good Sir, — I received your letter by your neighbour, whom I wellcomed into our Society. Wee haue much cause to bee thanckfull for Gods presence still with us. I was with Mr. Downinge this afternoone and agreed uppon the Peticon; Mr. Edsbury wee mett withall, who hopes to gett us 20 peece of ordinance, and the Charles. Touching buyinge of Ordinance ourselves, wee confirred with the Master Gunner, with Capt. Waller & Cap. Venn: And upon agitacon wee finde that the new mettle will quickly heate and reverse, so that we are quite off them, saue only for a Drake or 2; what is determined about them I refer to Mr. Pinchons narracon who hath beene imployed in the worke since.

Touching Mr. Hooker, we are not yet resolved what to doe, saue only to write to him, or goe to him, to see whether hee entends to goe or write, that wee may doe accordingly. Dr. Ames would haue the like respect, as Mr. Cotton well remembers us off. If others may accompany him, my brother Samuel would bee one, who hath beene in those parts with Dr. [*torn*] before. Your sonn would doe very well to bee one b[ut] I feare we cannot spare him because he is to studdy [*torn*] [an]d Gunnery heere for after imployment [*obliterated*] ex[cept] that journey would helpe forwards that: That your [*torn*] take uppon us to dispose both of you & yours att [*torn*] leasures for the publique. He is a very ingenious Gentleman and I am perswaded will be of speciall vse to the Plantation. Wee haue writt a letter to Sir N. Rich to gett a letter from him to Capt. Gosnall, that your sonn may by his meanes take a veiw & plott of Harwich fort for us; for which I pray you lett him haue Tyme, & the Company will be thanckfull; and lett him come up agayne as soone as may bee. I received notice from Leicester that diuerse Christians are thinckinge to come from thence, and about Manchester one Mr. Roote a Godly minister & able (if hee had a call,) & 40 with him. Leicester men desire him for their minister. I haue wrote word that if those 2 places can make a Congregacon they may haue him. They sent up a dozen or 13 Queres which haue beene answered.

Touching Mr. Peters your caution is good, but I hope wee shall give you content, that his place will not be unsupplyed, nor his coming over offensive nor dangerous. I shall, (God willing) speake to Mr. Goffe about the cowes & Mr. Wright about the caske & provisions to supply vs &c. For my modesty (as you call it) it is just as I find needfull to write off, that you may pray for mee the more, and expect the less; yet what I am I a[m] Yours

Isa: Johnson.

[P.S.] We had a Court on Tuesday att which was 3 or 4 howres debated whither those that added to their subscriptions before should haue it now fully ended, and after 3 or 4 houres strong debate it was concluded against them. So as now wee shall I hope goe securely on with the marchants. Mee thincks I ended soe abruptly with my paper without expression of loue & affection answerable to the receipt of yours. But I am weary & not very well, therefore entreat you to supply it out of the abundance of yours. I haue sent Sir Nath. Rich his letter for your sonne, which I hope is sufficient. I hope hee will sufficiently informe himselfe of the dimensions of the Fort and all things about it, as, likewise, of what severall matterialls, what kinde of earths or wood the severall parts are framed off. It is likely he may inquire of some thereabouts, labourers, or artificers or artists, that helped to make it. Let him take speciall notice of the thicknes of the walls, where the ordinance is layd forth and how long our ordinance had neede to bee in that regard, & send what speedy word may bee with conveniency.

17 Decr. 1629.

For that wee are advized by some to haue all our ordinance 8t foote & a half from the base hoope to the muzzell, others and the most to haue none vnder 9 foote to bee so measured, in regard that otherwise they will bee in danger to throw downe the walls of the Fort. But heres the difficulty, heere are some, I thinck enough, of 8t foote & of 8t and a half uppon the Tower hill, but those of 9 will hardly or not att all bee gott for the first vioage, so that wee are att a great loss; For some thinck better carry but a few now that are fitt & reserue the others for the last ships, then to carry vnseruiceable ones; & others thinck better to carry our number, for the feare and noyse of them may doe us good; & they may hereafter serve for some use. Thus you see how hardly I was drawne on this side my paper, & yet now how prolix I am. Pray send us your opinion of this, for it much stumbles us. &c.

B—— G—— TO ISAAC JOHNSON.

To the Worshipfull his assured loving freind Mr. Isaac Johnson dlr theis.

Worthie Sir, — I receaued your kind letter, bearing date xijth of August, for which I hartily thancke you, that in the midst of your great trobles (the which I assure my self are verie many,) you will let your penn loose to declare to your ffreinds that they are not forgotten. But since the arrival of your letter I haue herd of your heavienes, for which with you I bare my share, but I trust that that wilbe an occasion of our seeing you heere in old England the sooner. Sir, ther is litle or nothing that is worthie of newes, but that all things are as you left them, & rather worser then any whit amended. the Gent: are still in prison, and tossed from the Kings Bench to the gate howse in Westminster, & from thence to the K. Bench againe: all this since Midsomer last. Vppon Sabboth day last the Articles of Peace with Spaine weare sworne to in great state (as I am informed of) in the Chappell at Whitle-Hall, the which at this presente I cannot send, in that they are kept soe close: and ther was a verie great feast made for the Ambessadour, which cost 7000*l*, but instead of cupbords of plate, which it was vsuallie to be set forth at such tymes, ther weare cupbords of glasses for them, &c.

Yesterday, the Earle of Castle-Haven was committed to the gate-howse, close prisoner, (whoe is Jesuitted,) for fowle offences, as I am informed; for noe lesse then buggerie, and for comanding his owne dafter and his ladie for to prostrate themselues to his owne favorite, (one Mr. Skipwith) whoe is likewise committed to the King's Bench, and all these & far worser practises came to be made knowne to the king, by the peticion of his daughters hus-

band. Thus with a harty desire for a blessing on all your enterprises, at this tyme doe take my leave, remayneing

Yours to be commanded both in private & publique,

B: G:*

Cliff: I[nne,] 6°. Dec: 1630.

I pray present my service to Sir Rich: Saltonstall, with my prayers for him & his; and if ther be one Mr. Ludlowe neare you, I pray remember me to him, & let him knowe his brother is in helth.

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* This letter seems to be signed B: G:; but we know not for what name those initials stood. Possibly the letters were intended for B: P: The arms on the seal are those of the Burrell Family, of Brome Park, in Northumberland, and also of Dowsby, Lincolnshire, and Ryhall, in the county of Rutland. Richard, the fourth son of William, Lord Say and Sele, and brother to the Countess of Lincoln, married Margaret, the daughter of Abraham Burrell of Wisbech, in the Isle of Ely; and it is probable that the writer of the letter was thus connected with the family of the Earl of Lincoln, into which Isaac Johnson had married. The letter evidently alludes to the death of Lady Arbella Johnson; but, like the letter of Humfrey with which this volume opens, it was written in ignorance that Isaac Johnson himself had died more than two months before its date; so slow was the transmission of tidings across the ocean in those days. It may be well to add, that the handwriting is *not* that of Brampton Gurdon, with the initials of whose name the signature would seem to correspond. — Eds.

LETTERS OF EMANUEL DOWNING.*

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

I AM glad to heare of my sisters recouerie: I thank God wee are all in good health here and at my brother Fones.

The Master of the wards is offered Sr. Needham's Land by Needham, whither I went once with your selfe to see your kinswoeman, he entreates you send him word what valew yt is per annum, and whither likely to be improved or no, how wooded &c.

There is noe newes from the Duke only this that the ffort is neither taken nor releived.

The Earle of Holland is going over to him with 6000 men, whereof 2000 out of England, 2000 out of Scotland and 2000 out of Ireland.

Tilly is gotten into the King of Denmark's Country where the King is putt to the worst, and in danger to be overthrown yett is he not pittyed here at Court, because (say they) he useth not our men well.

The Spaynyard hath sent about 16 ships to the Iland of Shethland where the great herring fishing is, where they landed 500 men and haue taken manie of the ffishers netts and Buffes and done great spoyle to the great hindrance

* Emanuel Downing was a lawyer of the Inner Temple, London. He had married Lucy Winthrop, the sister of our Governor; by whom he had several children, the eldest of whom was afterwards known as Sir George Downing, English ambassador at the Hague. Emanuel came over to New England in 1638. There were few more active or efficient friends of the Massachusetts Colony during its earliest and most critical period. — EDS.

of the ffishing. Thus with my Dewty to my mother and trew love to your selfe and all yours I rest

Your loving brother EM: DOWNINGE.

LONDON 31 August 1627.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

MY GOOD BROTHER, — I am glad to heare of your begynning to amend. I doubt your advise in surgery is not soe good as you may haue here if you will come ere yt be to late.

The lower house of Parliament haue adiourned the Parliament till Thursday next, but the Committees of particular referments meet dayly, they haue made an order that he that shalbe wanting one thursday next shall forfeyte 10*l.*

They are agreed to give the King 5 subsedyes for present supply, soe as our persons and goods be freed, and that there be noe more ceassing of souldiers nor pressing of soldiers to serve beyond the seas against theire wills. Some other good lawes for religion and the statuts to be putt in execucon against the papists; what the successe hereof wilbe, manie men yett are in doubt; the Judges in the King's Bench doe disclayme the judgement, and doe lay all the fault one the Attornie generall;

You shall receive hereinclosed a speach published abroade supposed to be spoken to the King;

1000 Dutch horse are dayly expected, whereof newes cam last night that 300 of them are landed.

I pray thanke my brother Gostlyn for his paynes to Mr. Lynn of his serving the Inivnction, I doubt Mr. Lynn will force me to make affidavit, I pray entreate my brother Gostlyn to keepe the copie of the Inivnction. Thus long expecting your coming, with my dewty to my good mother

and my trew love and respect to your selfe, my sister, my brother Gostlyn and his wife and all yours and all at Mr. Gourden's I rest leaving you and your affayres to God's blessing, Your loving brother Em: Downinge.*

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his louinge ffrind John Winthrop, Esq. at Groton, these dlr. Suff.

My good brother, — I am glad you retorned home soe well, and founde them soe there. The newes yeasterday vpon the exchange was, that the Dutch haue taken the second parte of the Spaynishe plate ffleete.

One Monday morning the Parliament mett, and presently soe soone as they were sett there came a messenger Mr. Maxwell of ye bedchamber, from the King, to dissolve the howse, Mr. Litleton tendred a Demonstrance to the Speaker to be read, he refused, the howse comaunded him, he weepes and offers to goe out of the chayre, he was by force kept in, manie cryed out with him to the barr and choose an other in his place, they comaunded the Serieant to lock the dore, ere the Messenger entred, he durst not, vp riseth a Burgesse and offers his service, they all willed him lock the dore and bring away the key, they comaunded the Clarke to reade yt, he answeared that he was to reade nothing but what was past and entred in the booke, then Mr. Litleton goes into the next roome and burnes the Demonstrance, vp riseth Hollace one of the lord of Clare's sonns, and declares to the howse the somme and heads of ye Demonstrance, to this effect; that all those are enemyes to this Church and Commonwealth that seeks to bring in these new opynions, and that those

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* This was evidently written in London, about 1628. — Eds.

Merchants shalbe reputed enemyes to this state that shall yeald tonnadge and poundadge before yt be graunted in Parliament. And the Conclusion was most sharpe and cruell against the lord Treasurer and the Bishop of Wynchester.

One Tuseday Mr. Seldon, Mr. Litleton and 3 more were sent to the Tower, Sir Peter Heymond and 2 others to the Gatehowse, 8 more sent for; all are close prisoners that are comitted, Mr. Seldon's study is sealed vp. This morning I was told that there be 2 barges attending at Whytehall to carry some noblemen to the tower, and that the Custom howse dores are shutt vp, for that the officers dare not sett to demaund Custome. I heard yeasterday at Charing Crosse that the Customers of Lynn were beaten out of the Custom howse. The good Lord torne all to a good yssue. Soe with myne and my wives dewty to my mother with our love to your selfe and my good sister &c. I rest your verie loving brother EM: DOWNINGE.

6 MRTIJ. 1628.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his loving Cosen Mr. John Wynthrop at Groton in Suffolke.

GOOD COSEN, — I haue agreed with Dr. Wright for 4600*l* for the sale of Groton as per this enclosed, you may perceiue; for 850*l* of this purchase, Dr. Wright is to assigne over a manour worth 50*l* per annum, which lyeth nere Harwich in Essex. I pray send to see yt for yf yt shall not be thought fitt for my sister, then hee will at a reasonable day pay the monie.

I expected this week the writings concerning Groton, but you sent only the last Conveyance and the Parsons lease, I pray bring vp with you all the writings concerning that purchase except your Court Roules which may be delivered in the Countrye; among your writings be sure

that you fynd out the Graunt from the King, next the Conveyance from Adam W: to John W. then the Dedes from John W. to your ffather and my brother Fones and what other Deedes you haue concerning your woods, for this deede you sent me vp mentioneth but 40 acres of wood, soe yts supposed that the rest of the woods were bought of some private men and not from the king.

You wilbe expected here on wednesday or thursday next at furthest, and as you come leave all your writings with my Cosen Cary Mildmay at Marks for Mr. Wright of Romford is to draw the Conveyance, which wee hope to finishe next weeke and to receiue the monie; bring vp with you this enclosed noate.

If you shall mislike this agreement with Dr. Wright, you shall be at libertye to sell yt to any other that will give you more for yt, noe man here hath offred soe much by 200*l*, if you resolve to proceed herein, I pray come speedyly vp for I shall doe nothing without you therein, this buisines only keepes me in towne.

As you come bring me Mr. Tyndall's letter for approbation hereof, otherwise yt wilbe further delayed, here is noe newes yet from New England, soe with my wives and my trew love to your mother your selfe &c I rest your loving vncle EM. DOWNINGE.

2do JULIJ, 1630.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his verie loving brother John Winthrop Esqr, Governour of the Plantacon, in Mattachusetts, New England.

MY GOOD BROTHER,—Sithence my last 3 letters sent you by Mr. Peirce, I haue received yours per the French Ship dated the 9 of 7ber.

Herewith is sent you a *dedimus potestatem* to acknowledge an other ffyne of Groton, and a deed to leade the vse thereof, because the ffyne you acknowledged before you

went hence was not well drawne nor sufficient for vs to sell your land, and my sister must stay here vntill the dedimus be retourned back, soe that I feare my sister cannot departe hence vntill the Spring then following, yet shee is verie willing to haue gone this next Spring if this occasion had not hindered hir.

I know not how to expresse my thankfulnes suffitiently for the constant continewance of your love to me euerie way soe plentifully expressed, among the rest, for your care in providing my howse, I shall desire to hasten over soe soone as the Lord shall open me the way, which I hope wilbe ere long.

Our freinds here, yea those of best Iudgement, wishe you bestowe not much cost in building where you are, but doe advise that you doe speedily send about the discouerie of some fitter place, more to the South, where you may enioye greater comfort in respect of milder winters and fruitfuller and earlyer harvests, with more safety from forreign Invasions: yts certeynly enformed here that soe litle Sowthward as the Narraganses, there is farr lesse cold and snow then where you are, but if yt be trew that Mr. Allerton reports of Hudson's river, there is noe place comparable to yt for a plantacon, and t'will quitt cost for you to remove thither, though all be lost in the place where you are, for he sayth that Hudsons river goes into Canada and those 2 make New England an Iland, if this be trew yts like they meet in the great lake, and soe may Merrymack; I feare the want of provisions haue hindred your discoueries, this yeare, but I hope you shall haue noe such impediment hereafter.

Wee haue peace with Spayne as per the proclamation you shall perceive, which wilbe some advantadge to your plantacon, for you may henceforward haue wheat for 2*s* the Bushell and all sorts of Cattle (cheaper then I wrote that Capten Powell would afoard them) from the Terceras Ilands whence I trust you shall receive some verie shortly,

whereof I meane, God willing, to write at lardge in my next letters: thus with my wives and my love to your selfe. Sir Richard, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudly, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Wilson, &c. I leave you to the proteccon of the Almighty, and rest your verie loving brother

Em: Downinge.

8o. 10ber 1630.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his verie loving brother John Winthrop, Governour of the plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay.

My good brother, — Your last letters which cam this passadge with Mr. Peirce (though they brought the newes of Mr. Johnsons and some others death) haue much refreshed my hart and the myndes of manie others, welwishers to the good worke you haue vndertaken, for much more was feared, then the good Lord through his mercy hath laid vpon you, in that soe few haue dyed, and that now there is hope you wilbe able to subsist and proceede to lay the foundacon of a plantacon, whereas yt was the iudgement of most men here that your Colonye would this winter be dissolved, partly by death through want of ffood, howsing and rayment, and the rest to retorne or to flee for refuge to other plantacons: but blessed be God that hath maynteyned his owne Cause and preserved you alive to helpe further forward this great worke.

I am glad you haue begunn to remove and plant some what higher vp the river into the land among the woods, I meane at Watertowne. It is my dayly prayer that the Lord would give me leave to goe vnto you, which I hope wilbe next Spring, *Vbi animus ibi homo.* You haue my hart, and I doe mynd nothing for this world more then to prepare for my goeing vnto you, and when I shall see

the Lords Providence opening my way, I shall make litle stay here. I thank you most kindely for your letters, booke and plotts; tis tearme, and I haue had yet scarce tyme to peruse your letters and plotts; I must be trouble some to you about my cattle and corne, whereof my Cosen Winthrop writes vnto you; I pray excuse me that I write noe newes herein, for I haue not tyme, but this rest assured of that you may be secure from any trouble from Spayne or France, for they haue theire hands full here, soe with my comends to all my freinds, with my wives and my dayly prayers for you, I rest yours E. D.

30 Apr. [1631.]

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his lovinge cousin John Wynthropp Esqr at New-Englande, these ddd.

Loving Cosen, — Yours at your departure from the waterside I receiued, and sent lettres, supposing they might haue overtaken you there, but coming short, they were safe retorned to me againe. Of the hundreth and thirty *li* you left with me, I paid my Awnt Branch 10*li* for hir last quarteridge; 5*li* for my Cosen Dudlye to my lord Sayes kinsman, of whom he borowed yt to beare his chardges hither, and 15*li* more I haue laid out for him in clothes and some other necessaries; what other chardge I shalbe at to furnishe him I yet know not. I wilbee as frugall as I can therein, and soe I perceive himselfe wilbe. My brother and sister Paynter were at my howse since your departure, they tell me they are in hope to gett the 100*li* of the lady Moodam. I perceive they hope you will stay till yt be recorded there, otherwise you must write earnestly to them.

I pray lett me know what I am growne in debt there, that I may cleare reckonings with my brother. Thus in hast, with my love to your selfe and your wife, my cosens Elizabeth and Mary Winthrop, I rest

Your louing vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

2do 9br 1631.

4to 9br

This morning about 5 a clock, the Queene was delivered of [a] girle,* which was presently after baptised, because yt cam before the tyme, and was verie sick.

The King of Sweaden mustered his armye after he had retorned from the pursuite of his victorie, to vnderstand what men he had lost, and found his army to be 25000 men, soe he [found†] 7000 more then when he begann the battle. He hath 3 other armyes ioyned to him, whereof 20,000 are sent to subdew Bavaria, and 20,000 into Sileatia, and the rest for the setling of the Palsgrave in his countrye, and himselfe with his 25,000 men are gone to Frankford vpon the Meyne, which if he takes, he is to be King of the Romanes, by the Emperiall law: he was within 5 myles when this newes cam from him, and the generall opinion is that the citty dares not refuse his first somons.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his very louinge cossen Mr. John Winthrop at the Mattachusetts, these dlr in New England.

COSEN WINTHROP, — I am very glad to heare of your health and welfare, and well likinge of the plantation. Though the tyme be soe busie with me, and that I had

* Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I., afterwards wife of William, Prince of Orange, and mother of William III., King of Great Britain. — EDS.

† The word in brackets is imperfectly erased. — EDS.

but a very shorte warninge of this shipps suddaine goeinge, yet I chose rather to write a little, then not at all, and being tired out in writinge to your father, I was glad to haue helpe to write vnto you.*

I thanke you for your advice about my cattell, I cannot here prouide such seruants as I would, of a sodaine, therefore for the present I haue agreed with Mr. Dillingham to take my cattell and keepe them, winter and sommer, for the third of the increase, yet with this condition the bargaine is made, that vnlesse my brother Winth: doe approue thereof, its not to stand; and for my swyne I was to haue of Mr. Allerton, being 4 sowes, Mr. Dillingham will fetch them and put them out, to be kept for me, for halfes. Concerning myne owne particular account with my brother Winthrop, I must needs referre it to my next writinge, for I haue bin all this sommer in the contrie, and came home but iust to the Terme, and did not dreame of this sodaine going of this shipp, but made account to haue had tyme to consider thereof after this terme. But concerninge my brother Winth: monies receiued by me, I haue here inclosed sent you the true accompt, of the last 700*li* paid by Mr. Warren, I directed my brother Kirby to receiue 500*li*, because of his better leisure then myne, for the paying out of the same, accordinge to your occasions, which you may perceiue by the accompt, for a good parte of it is made by him, the rest is laid out by my selfe.

As concerning Mr. Goffe, he refuseth to receiue his monie according to my brothers last direccions, sayeing there is much more due vnto him. I praye send me ouer this acquittance signed and sealed by your father and yourselfe, with whome I am in parte agreed. ffor my sonne James, I am sorrye to see that he writes a worse hand, and more nonsence, in his last letters, then in the

* Downing appears to have employed an amanuensis in writing this letter. — Eds.

letters I receiued a yeare since. I doubt there is noe hope of his attaininge to any learning, therefore if he hath a mind to husbandry, or may be fitt to truck, and playe the marchant, and his likinge stand there vnto, I would gladly know it, that accordingly he might spend his tyme therein, for I thinke the tyme lost that he goes to schoole, and therefore take him from schoole, and let my brother Winthrop ymploye him as his seruant, as he shall thinke fitt. I sent my brother Winthrop a letter, written at the Hage from the Germane lately come from you ;* by Mr. Humfryes conveyance. I sent my brother Winthr: a staffe with a rapier in it, and a pistoll you left behind, by Mr. Winslowe.

The Plymouth trucking howse that was robbed was done, not by the French, but by some English, theire names I knowe not. Concerninge the keepinge of your cattell in the winter, I suppose, had you vnderwoods, as we haue in England, you should need howse none but such as you would vse about your house for milke.

I haue written to my brother Gostlyn to prouide you men and maid seruants against the springe. My brother Gostl: I suppose cannot come ouer this yeare, neither is his wife willinge, vntill he hath prouided a stock of cattell.

The cloth you desire from him will not be sent vntill the springe, neither could it be made ready against this shipps going, for we had scarce a weeks warninge of it.

ffor Newes? Sergeant Finch, Recorder of London, is dead, and Mr. Littleton in his place. Judge Haruie and Judge Whitlock are dead, and Sir Robert Bartlet and Sergeant Crawley in theire places. Sir Thomas Wentworth, the President of Yorke, is going Deputie into Ireland, where Sir Franc: Angier is lately dead, and one Mr. Rat-

* Probably Joist Weillust, the Surveyor of Ordnance of the Massachusetts Colony, (1630 and 1631), who returned to Germany in July, 1632. — Eds.

cliff of Grayes Inn, a kinsman of the Deputy, is named to be Master of the Roles there: my father in lawe, Sir James Ware * is lately dead. We haue had here a very vnseasonable cold summer, soe that the corne in the north parts did hardly ripen this yeare. About Whitsontide last there was many sore stormes, whereby many sheepe and lambs were killed. The Staffordsheire men doe very much complaine of the vsuall burninge heath, growing and not cut downe, in theire contrie, alledginge that it is the cause of much raine amongst them; and if there come a parliament they intend to preferre a bill to preuent the burninge of theire contrie in that kinde.

I haue sent you some bookes of newes, I would haue sent you more, but that by direction from the Lords, the printers were restrayned from printinge any more.

In the Lowe Contries there is great hope that the States of Holland wilbe lords ouer the 17 Prouinces very shortly, for diuerse Lords and Townes haue revolted from the Kinge of Spaine, and joyned themselues to the States; ffor the Kinge of Spaine will not be able to maintaine his warre there; being depriued of his wonted passages through Germany and France.

The Kinge of Spaine, as is generally beleiued, stands nowe at a lower ebb then when Q: Elizabeth dyed; his

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* Sir James Ware, who (we thus learn for the first time) was the father of Emanuel Downing's first wife, was knighted by James I., and was a member of the Irish Parliament in 1613. He married Mary, the sister of Sir Ambrose Briden of Maidstone, Kent. His eldest son, Sir James, was the author of Works concerning Ireland (translated and published in two folio volumes by Walter Harris, Dublin, 1764), which secured him the title of the Irish Camden. He was one of the Privy Council in 1639, and declined a peerage before his death in 1666. (Sir James Ware's Works concerning Ireland, vol. ii., second part, p. 148; Thane's British Autography, vol. ii. p. 38.) Downing's children by his first wife, Anne Ware, were James, Mary, Susan, and perhaps Anne; Sir George being the eldest child of his second marriage in 1622. The following entry in the Parish Register of the church of St. Lawrence, in Ipswich, Suffolk County, England (furnished us, while these pages are going through the press, by our Corresponding Member, Mr. H. G. Somerby), seems to fix the date and place of Emanuel Downing's own birth, unless there were two of the same name and period: "1585, Emanuell the sonne of George Downing, bapt. ye 1 of January." George, the father, describes himself in his will, proved 3d October, 1611, as a schoolmaster of Ipswich. — Eds.

necessities hath put him vpon strainge exegents for monie; the Spanish Inquisicion hath seised vpon many rich men, and burnt them for Heritiques, whereby theire Kinge hath gott all theire estate: the Kinge hath alsoe seised vpon the treasure and plate of diuerse manasteries in Spaine, to support him in his warrs.

The Kinge of Sweden goes on very prosperously, and carries all before him in Germany: there is newes lately come that he hath ouer throwne the Duke of Fridland, the Emperours Generall, which if it be true, he will make a shorte worke of the warrs in Germany.

You haue a litle bird in your contrie that makes a humminge noyse, a little bigger then a bee, I pray send me one of them ouer, perfect in his fethers, in a little box.

I praye excuse me for not writinge to my cosen Dudly, and thanke him for his kind letter. Remember my loue to his father and mother, himselfe and his wife, my cosen Feaks and his wife, Mr. Pincheon, Mr. Wells, Mr. Wilson and theire wiues, and I pray tell James D. that he writt such a scriblinge nonsence letter, that I am ashamed to answere it. Thus with my harty loue to yourselfe and your good wife, I take leaue and rest

Your very louing vncle EM: DOWNINGE.

NOUEMBER the xxith 1632.

Mall remembers her to you and your wife, and her cosen Feaks, and her cosen Dudly, and his wife; soe doth the scribe.*

Indorsed by J. Winthrop, Jr., "My vncle Downinge. Recd. Feb: 23: 1623." [32]

"These letters per the ship, Mr. Trevore, master, Mr. Hatherly, merchant, arrived at New-Plymouth."

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* The scribe was evidently Edward Howes, many of whose own letters to John Winthrop, Jr., will be found in the latter part of this volume. — EDS.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his very louinge cosen Mr. John Winthrop at the Mattachusetts in New England these dlr.

My good Cosen, — ffor want of other matter to write of, I thought fitt to put you in mind of your promise that you would see vs againe within a yeare; and now I must tell you that it were good you did come if you expect your hundred pounds from my brother Paynter,* for I doe not perceive that they make account to paye it; and if you come you may see your father's busines setled with Mr. Tindall;† who as I heare hath purchased some land, to the value of about three score pounds a yeare, at Codenham in Suff: nowe if my sister likes well of her beinge in New England, I knowe noe reason whie she should desire to laye out monie vpon any more land here; being soe remote from that place where she meanes to settle herselfe and her posteritie; should I come & liue there, as I desire to doe if God lend me life and health, I should not wish to haue any of my estate remayninge here; but herein I must check myself, in that I giue councell and advice before I am called thereto; howe soeuer I should be glad these occasions might cause you to make a visit of vs here; for many of your frinds would be glad to see you, which

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* Rev. Henry Painter, of Exeter, one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1644–5 had married the widow of Thomas Fones, whose first wife was a sister of Gov. Winthrop and of Emanuel Downing's wife. He is thus called "my brother Paynter" by Downing. — Eds.

† Deane Tindal, Esq., son of Sir John Tindal, knight, and brother of Margaret Winthrop, the wife of the Governor, who followed him to New England. Governor Winthrop says, in a will drawn up in 1639, but which was revoked in 1641, "For my dear wife, who hath been a faithful help to me, though *I left an estate for her in England*, &c." This estate was left in the charge of her brother Deane, to whose investment of it Downing here refers. — Eds.

would be a meanes to encourage some to remoue hence to your plantation, It would be noe disadvantage to you for you to spend a winter here, when as you may returne the begininge of the springe: Soe for this tyme with my loue to your selfe and your wife, my cosen Feakes and his wife, my cosen Dudley and his wife, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Pincheon & Mr. Nowell; Mr. Wells and Mr. Wilson, Mr Collier, Mr. Staughton & Mr. Samford, I take leaue and rest

Your very louinge vncle

The 18th of June 1633. Em: Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his verie louinge nephew Mr. John Winthrop the yonger at Boston in ye Mattachusetts Bay in New England these dlr. Giue these letters to Richard McAndrew.

My good Cosen, — I haue written thrice to you since I had any passage thence, except those drowned letters which came per Mr. Pierse. By this shipp I sent your father ouer a furnace for brewinge or boylinge salt or sope &c. Since the shippinge thereof I haue caused another to be made which Sir R. Saltonstall, hath bought on me, for the price I paid the workeman, but he should not haue had the same, had he not promised to send it to the plantation; which accordingly he hath done. Nowe had I knowne the ship would haue stayed soe longe at Graues end I would haue assigned this to you and let him had the other. I haue promised Sir R: you shall direct his man howe you shall vse it, which he needed not haue requested from me, for that I knowe you would most redily haue yeilded therevnto of your selfe. I shall desire much to heare that you doe hitt right in the vse of it. I haue seene the tryall of it here both with seacoale & charcoales, therefore I doubt not but you will fall vpon the true practise of it.

Our frinds at Groton and Chensey are all well; our Bishop of London is made Bishop of Canterbury; it is not yet knowne who shall be of London.

What course you will take for your 200*l.* due vnto you from my brother Painter, though I heare some tymes from him, yet I heare not a worde of any such monie to be due vnto you. Tis longe since we heard from you. Soe desiring good news thence with my daylie prayers for you & yours with my loue to yourselfe & your good wife I take leaue and rest Your louinge vncle

The 13th of Aug. 1633. Em: Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.*

To his loving Cosen John Winthrop, Esqr. at Mr. Gostlins in Groton hall, Suffolke. *dd.*

My good Cosen, — Mr. Sheapheard was with me yeasterday, to enquire of your estate, whereof I could give him noe account, he prayed me to write vnto you thereof, and desires that you would retorne an answeare thereto this weeke, if you come not your selfe speedyly back: he would know your present estate in possession, and what in future you expect from your father, for this wilbe demanded of him, before he can conclude any thinge for you. And yts good reason you should satisfie him herein, because noe man that knowes you not, will parte with his child, till he know how shee shall be provided for to live in the world.

This day my brother Kirby cam to me to tell me that Mr. Atwood the leather seller was with him, to give him notice that you should walk waryly and close because there

* John Winthrop, Jr., was at this date in England. His name, and that of Elizabeth, his second wife (whom he married while abroad), are entered "10th July," 1635, as having embarked in the "Abigail." They arrived in October, "ten weeks from Plymouth." Elizabeth was daughter of Edmand Reade, Esq., of Wickford, Co. Essex, whose widow married Hugh Peter, and whose third son, Col. Thomas Reade, commanded a regiment in the civil wars, and was associated with Gen. Monk at the Restoration. — Eds.

be some that laye wayte to attach you. Mr. Winsloe lyes still in prison, and is like soe to continew, for I doe not heare when the lords will meete againe for plantation buisines.

I do heare there will goe at least 20 ships this yeare to the plantation, there is one at the Customes howse apoynted to receive Certificates and give discharges to all such as shall goe to the plantation, some that are goeing to New England went to him to know what they should doe, he bad them bring him any Certificate from Minister, Church wardens or Justice, that they were honest men and he would give them theire pass; they asked him what subsedy men should doe, he answeared that he could not tell who were subsedy men, and would discharge them vpon theire Certificates; soe with my love to yourselfe my brother Gostlyn and his wife I rest, Yours whilest I am

25 Mtij, 1635. Em. Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my verie loving Cosen John Winthrop, the yonger, esqr. at Boston — dlr.

My good Cosen, — I haue received 3 letters from you, the first of the 9th of 9ber, thother 2 of the 12 and 15 of Januar. Thanks be to God for your safe arivall after soe tedious a passadge. I hartilye thank you for the kynde offerr of your howse, but because I cannot yet resolve of my coming this yeare I pray dispose of yt to your best advantadge. I am advised not to make choyse of any place for my selfe vntill I come there. I haue sent you butter, suett and other things, by this shipp, for the particulars thereof I refer you to my wives letters. Sir Arthur Hesilrigg refuseth to deall for Capten Endicotts howse, because as he sayth the merchants telleth him, the howse is theirs, and built with theire monie &c. as I wrote vnto

himselfe. Your mother Peters hath paid me 40*l*, which I haue laid out for you and almost as much more: shee entends to pay you the rest soe soone as shee can possiblie, which I feare wilbe nere Christide ere shee can performe yt. I perceive shee stands verie well affected to you, but as yet cannot doe as shee would for you.

I hartyly thank you for the manie good directions in your letters to me. And for my brother Gostlyn if possiblye I can I will helpe him over; and the rather because his goeing may cause my wife more willinglie to listen therevnto. Shee feareth much hardshipp there, and that wee shall spend all, ere wee be setled in a course to subsist even for foode and rayment. I pray in your next write hir some encouradgement to goe hence vnto you. Tom Goade sent his letters out of Spayne which I haue received and delivered, but himselfe is gone with that shipp into the Streights, soe I hope he will prove a Sea man. Ben Gostlyn is like to prove a proper Sea man, he is retorned out of the streights and gone to Sea againe, his master vseth him like a sonne, and the youth would not change his course of life for any other. So soone as he shalbe out of his tyme, he entends to see New England.

Having written more at lardge to my brother Winthrop whereto I refer you, with my love to your selfe and second selfe, leaving you and your occasions to the blessing of our good God I rest

Yours assured EM: DOWNINGE.

1o MARTIJ 1635.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

MY GOOD COSEN, — Yours of the 24 of 8ber last I received, and doe hartily thank you for your relation of Connecticott, but you wrote not, where your selfe entend to setle. ffor your Account the last yeare I laid for you as I then wrote, 103*l*. 1*s*. 2*d*. whereof I received last yeare of

Dr. Reade 50*l*, of my brother Gostlyn 2*l* more, since of Dr. Reade 50*l*. In all 102*l*. Soe there rests me vpon that account 1*l*. 1*s*. 2*d*. ffor your tooles sent nowe by Mr. Peirce, my brother Kirby had monie from me to pay for them, who I suppose sends you an account thereof, but I haue not yet received from him the particular charge thereof.

Mrs. Peters [when] shee went into Holland, apoynted Dr. Read to pay me 50*l* for you, but he now telleth, he cannot receive yt, soe I beleive your mother will take order for your satisfaction when shee retornes, whom I expect here this moneth.

Sir Mathew Boynton telleth me that he entends to pay 30*l* for you at Whitsontyde next.

ffor newes I referr you to Mr. Peirce who knowes how all things goe here. Germanie is now become a most desolate wildernes: there be manie townes beautifull for buildings, but neither man woeman nor child in them: they fynd, as pass by, goodly and rich wanscott roomes, with tables, cubbards, and bedsteads standing in them, which they burne, or sett an howse on fyre to dresse theire meate, and leave yt burning next day when they departe. The country doth soe swarme with Ratts which goe in such troops as would fright a man to meet them;

The Emperour, the French King and King of Spayne are making great preparation for warrs each against the other. The Sweades haue taken all Saxonie, the Duke is in a Castle beseidged by the Sweeds where tis thought, he cannot scape. Thus with my love to your selfe, your good wife, Mr. Peters, &c. I leave you and your affaires to the blessing of the Almighty and rest your assured loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

2 MTIJ 1636.

You are to pay your ffather W: 10*s*. for the Currall which I putt into his account before I vnderstood yt was for you.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor my brother Winthrop.

Loving brother, — Yours of the 29 of June, the 4 of August, and the 24 of 8ber. I haue received this yeare, and paide all your bills except Mr. Harts who is dead, and his executours haue not yet demaunded the monie. Mr. Lucy who imployed Mr. Hart sent to me for the monie, my answeare was that if Mr. Lucy would give me his bond to dischardge you from Harts executours I would then pay yt to him; the messenger said, I should haue it, but I never heard more of him. I haue hereinclosed sent your account. Whereas you write that you entend to sell of my oxen and some other male catle, I pray sell what you please and pay your selfe for my childrens being with you.

My Ant Branch is lately dead.

I hartilye thank you for your lardge Information of the state of the plantation; I was the other day with Secretarie Coke who told me that there hath not ben a word of your plantacon at Councell board these manie moneths past.

The 4th of 9ber last at night here was great thunder and lightning, with soe terrible a storme that manie steeples and Churches were beaten downe and verie manie howses and trees blowne vp by the rootes, in divers parts of this kingdome.

The Archbishops officers are now in visitation in Essex, on ffriday last they began at Brentwood, where yt was declared to the ministers that eurie on must reade the Kings declaration concerning the Saboth days recreations, or, at the moneths end, be deprived.

The Lord Maior sent his officers to most of the cheife familyes of the Citty to give them warning to kepe the ffasts, Lent, Ember weeks, and the Vigills.

I was at Mr. Rogers* of Dedham his funerall, where there were more people than 3 such Churches could hold: the gallery was soe over loaden with people that it sunck and crackt and in the midle where yt was Joynted the tymbers gaped and parted on from an other soe that there was a great cry in the Church: they vnder the gallery fearing to be smothered, those that were vpon yt hasted of, some on way some an other, and some leaped downe among the people into the Church: those in the body of the Church seing the tymbers gape were sore afrighted, but yt pleased God to honour that good man departed with a miracle at his death, for the gallerie stood and the people went on againe, though not so manie as before; had yt faln as blackfryars did vnder the popishe assembly, yt would haue ben a great wound to our religion. Our freinds in Suffolk, Essex and London are all in health.

The name of a Colledge in your plantation would much advantadge yt considering the present distast against our vniversityes, you need not stay till you haue Colledges to lodge schollars, for if you could but make a combination of some few able men, ministers or others to read certeyne lectures, and that yt were knowne here amongst honest men, you would soone haue students hence, and Incouradgement to proceed further therein. What great burthen would yt be to a Minister for the present (till you haue meanes and be better supplyed with schollars) once a week for a moneth in eurie quarter to reade a logick, greke or hebrew lecture or the like.

Thus with my love to your selfe, my sister and all yours &c of my freinds in the plantation, with my dayly prayers for you and yours with the prosperity of the wholl plantation, I rest your assured loving brother

Em. Downinge.

6 Martij — 1636.

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* Rev. John Rogers, of Dedham, died Oct. 8, 1636. — Eds.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Honourable his verie loving brother John Winthrop Governour of the Massachusetts in New England.

Good brother, — Its noe small comfort to me that I haue hope ere long to enioy your Companie, I purpose God willinge to sett forth hence in the begynning of Aprill at furthest and to take your sonne hence with me.

ffor my provision of Corne I purpose to buy yt there. If you feare the rising of the prise, I pray buy some for me and promise payment in money at my Landing. Here hath been great Joy for your great victories but farr more for vanquishing your erronious opinions then for conquering the Pequoits. Our best and worthyest men doe much mervile you did not banish Whee[l]wright and Hutchinsons wife, but suffer them to sowe more sedition among you: Mr. Vanes ill behaviour there hath lost all his reputation here. I heare he is about to travaile into Germanie.

The Nobility, gentry and Comons of Scotland are in Confederatie and combyned soe strong togeather that they will admitt of noe Conformity to our good Bishop's orders, they haue throwne out the holy booke of Comon prayer, beaten theire Bishops and torne theire sirplisses of the backs of the Ministers, and manie more outrages in this kinde wee heare of dayly.

The Dutch haue taken in Breda.

In August last Mr. Tyndall paid me one hundreth pounds.

I follow your councell in coming to the bay before I resolve where to pitche. I pray helpe me to hire or buy some howse (soe as I may sell yt againe if I shall remove) in some plantation about the Bay. Thus for present I take leave and rest leaving you and your affayres to the blessed protection of the Almighty.

Your assured louing brother Em. Downinge.

21. 9ber 1637.

I can give noe answer to my Cosen Winthrop's letter yet for his monie from the Lords.* I pray salute him and all my freinds.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his Honorable brother John Winthrop Esqr, Governour at Boston.

Sir, — I thanke you for my brother Kirbyes letter, but before yt cam I had assigned him more monie to serve his terne, the 50*li* I would exchange is of other monie, not of any I expect to be in his hands. I am not willing to send James of purpose about yt if I could other wise doe yt, before the shipp goes hence.

I thanke you hartilye for your kynde Invitation, but I hope there wilbe noe necessitye of my being there this winter, there is more cause of your coming hither, where I shall, God willing, acquaynt you with the secrets of ye decoye, I pray resolue to come ere winter. I doe rest vpon you for Wheat and Rye, about 30 bushells of Rye and 10 bushells of Wheate. I pray let my Cosen Stephen dispatch the perfecting of the accounts, and the remayne I purpose to dischardge with ready monie. Soe desiring the Good Lord to preserve you to length of dayes and eternall Joy with my service to my sister and your selfe, I rest Your verie louing brother

Salem 22 October, 1638. Em: Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored brother John Winthrop Governour, dlr. Boston.

Sir, — I blesse God for his tender care of vs in preserving yours and myne in health and peace in these Infectious

* The Lord Say and Seale and the Lord Brook, of whose Connecticut Colony the younger Winthrop was the Governor. — Eds.

and stormie seasons. My Cosen Peter told me, this afternoone, that there was not one sick in Salem, the Good Lord graunt vs thankfull hearts, as for this soe for all other his favours to vs. Mr. Ballard of Sagus lyeth verie sick of the pox. I found my sawes in a long Chest among other things, the bundle of Sawes you sent me are not myne, I wishe the owner had them.

ffor Mr. Cooke, I, having noe other buisines to the Court, am loath to make a Jorney of purpose, therefore my hope is my Cosen St[ephen] Winthrop having a letter of Attornie will prosecute yt for me; If he goes for Bermodas I must fynde out some other freind that will doe yt for me.

I haue soe manie things to retorne thanks for as I know not where to begyn, they deserue more then words, my hart is more willing to requitall then opportunity or abilitye can afoard, as an Indian said, Comand me great things to the height of my strength, &c. I pray remember my seruice with manie thanks to my sister, and soe with my love to all yours & Mr. Harrison with my dayly prayers for your prosperous condition in soule, body and all your affaires, I rest

Your assured loving brother whilest I am

Em: Downinge.

25. 10. 1638.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored brother John Winthrop Governour.

Sir, — I thanke you for your kynde letters, which I reseived yeasterday. I feare not the coming of shipps vnto vs, because I know it will not be in the power of any mortall man, (though as malitious as the Divill himselfe against vs) to hinder them. I am much more troubled that you write, how you are yet sometimes feverishe: I pray be more watchfull for your health, that you oppresse not your bodye nor spirits with the publique affaires, but

rather spare yourselfe a while that you may be the better enabled for tyme to come; cold and wett espetially of your feet are two great traytors to your health, and must be watched verie narrowly, verie narrowly: The good Lord preserue you to vs, and I shall never feare foreigne malice, soe long as the trew worship of God is by authority vpheld amongst vs, for he is faythfull and wilbe a sure rock of defence to his beloved. Mr. Rogers hath an overture of plantation betweene Newberry and Ipswich which I feare wilbe streightned, betweene Ipswich and Newberry, as Cambridge is by hir Neighbour townes; Now at Salem wee haue manie farmes to be sould, enough for all his Companie, and the Towne desires much his joyning with our pastor, he may also haue with vs a plantation by himselfe, soe that I hope we shall keepe him here or at Newberry. I pray present my service to my sister. Soe with harty prayers for your health, desirous much to heare of your perfect recouerie, I rest with manie thanks to your selfe and my sister, which I owe for more then my paper can hold,

Yours assured whilest I am

Em. Downinge.

2 Martij 1638.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored brother John Winthrop, Governour.

Sir, — I retorne you manie thanks for your kynde letter with a sorifull heart for my sisters sicknes. The good Lord blesse and sanctifie yt vnto hir: though I should be verie glad of my wives retorne, yet I dare not now call for yt. I haue nought to write but of planting, sowing, posting, rayling &c.

My Cosen P.* is constant to his dayly charge, soe that

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* Hugh Peter. — Eds.

all his freinds are resolved to leave him to his owne way, yet blessed be God his preaching is verie profitable and comfortable to all. I feare I shalbe disappointed of 30 bushells of Indian Corne which I relyed on here, I pray let me be soe bold with you as to know if I may be supplyed thence; soe with my service to your selfe and my sister with harty prayers for hir health I rest

Your assured loving brother EM: DOWNINGE.

SALEM 8. 2di.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[*Address destroyed, except the word*] "*brother.*"

SIR, — I haue deferred writing vnto you in hope to haue ben at Boston ere this.

I remember when this plantation began, Mr. Isake Johnson said more then once, that he was resolved to spend and be spent in this buisines. What he then said you haue effected. Now if the Country should fayle I am confident the Lord will in his good tyme give meanes of freedome out of all your cares and feares. I haue a Cow Calfe at Mistick, I pray accept of yt, and were I in monie as I haue ben, I should doe that would become a loving brother. Job was raised to a full estate in this way by his freinds, soe I conceiue tis a dutye and debt the Countrye stands in to free you, and being a way of God you may with comfort accept yt; how ever the Country may deale with you, I pray doe not you nor my sister oppresse your spiritts herewith, but wayte with cheerfull patience on the Lord, who alone can and ordinarily doth bring good out of evill, and, confident I am, he will in his owne way and tyme performe yt to you.

I know not how the buisines stands for Mr. Eaton's debts, whither I must loose that 10*li* or no. I am not willing to trouble you therein. I pray speake to my Cosen

Stephen to looke after yt for me. Soe craving pardon for this boldnes with my love and service to yourselfe and my sister, I rest Your assured loving brother whilest I am

Em : Downinge.

Salem 9. 11. 39.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his ever Honored brother John Winthrop, Governour.

Sir, — I doe retourne you manie thanks for your kynde letter of the 13th of this Instant, and doe blesse God for the continewance of health to you and yours, and doe much reioyce in this, that the Lord hath enabled you with patience and chearfulnes to beare your burthen, he knowes well what service you haue done for his people and Churches here. He hath promised requitall for a cup of cold water given to any of his. I need not tell you of his riches, ability and faythfulnes in the performance of his word and promises to the meanest of his servants, nor of his trew and tender love vnto you; soe that I am assured he will repaire and fully repay all your losse, costs and charges spent in his service. I pray be confident hereof and doe him that right, in being as chearfull and contented now as when you had the world most at comand; and soe with pardon for my boldnes and faythfull service to my good sister and your selfe, I rest

Your assured loving brother whilest I am

Em: Downinge.

24. 12. 39.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, — I thanke you for your loving letter and doe blesse God for peace and health to you and yours. I am confident you having spent your selfe and estate in this honourable service; that yt will redounde to your greater creditt and honour with God and man, then if you had gayned

riches as other Governours doe, both in Virginea and elswhere, and yt will rise vp in Judgement against extorting Governours that shalbe set over the people in succeeding generations, when your selfe shalbe at rest reaping the fruits of your present labours.

The noate that Edward Dillingham gave you, I never saw yt, I pray therefore take his affidavit: yt had ben done here if wee could haue mett with Mr. Endicott, who is much trobled with a cough and cold and cannot be at this Court. He remembereth his trew love and service to your selfe and my sister.

I cannot leave my wife now to attend Dillingham's buisines and I feare if I should haue ben there, the tryall would be putt of with one devise or other because I did not serve Mr. Saltonstall and his partner to the Court. If he can he will keepe Dillingham from you. I pray keep the affidavit or send yt me for I can depose he would haue sworne to yt if we could haue founde Mr. Endicott. Yeasterday my wife was in a feavor, this day she is pretyly well, so with my service to your selfe, my sister, and all yours I rest Your verie loving brother

Em: Downinge.

2, 1. 39.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored brother John Winthrop, Governour, Boston.

Sir, — This day I had a meeting with Mr. Saltonstall about Dillinghams buisines, and chardging him with your noate sent me into England: he said there was deliured James Luxford 20 Cowes, whereas your noate doth mention but 15, soe it was conceived that Dillingham or Luxford should deceive me of 5 Cowes, but after they were gone I founde Luxfords noate of my Catle he deliuered me, which doth mention 19, soe there is but one wanting,

which (if he did not deliver James Luxford) Mr. Saltonstall must pay me for: I haue sent my man of purpose with these notes which I pray retorne by him againe. Dillingham wilbe with you to-morow of purpose to cleare himselfe of these 5 Cowes: if yt shall appeare that Luxford hath cosened you and me of that one Cowe which is yet wanting, let yt never trouble you. That you may vnderstand how 20 Cowes should be deliuered to Luxford, the account is thus, viz: In May 1633 there were deliuered to Dillingham

9 Milch cowes 2 heifers 7 Cow calves	18]	Of these 18 there dyed 2, soe there remayned 16.

of these there was the first yeare with Dillingham 9 calves, 5 cow calves, 4 bull calves.

In June 1636 Dillingham deliuered as he saith 4 of the said 5 Cow calves, with the former 16 being then growne to be Cowes, in all 20 Cowes to James Luxford, who accounted to me as per his noate appeareth for 19. Soe there wants but one of this reckoning, but manie more are wanting to me of Dillingham's account which he said did dye and were killed by woolves &c. I doubt I must come to a Jury at Boston with Mr. Saltonstall at last, he confesseth he hath 100 *li* left of Dillinghams in his hands to satisfie me if neede be, and that there is almost as much more leyable to my satisfaction elswhere. Wee parted verie good freinds after all our debate of the buisines, soe for this tyme being over troublesome, with my service to your selfe and my good sister, I rest

Your verie loving brother EM: DOWNINGE.

10. 1. 1640.

My wife and sonne John present theire service now being all in health, blessed be God.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his Honourable brother John Winthrop, Governour.

Sir, — I praise God my wife had a good day to retorne home, but yeasterday shee was as ill. Last night shee slept prety well, and is chearly this morning, the Good Lord open our eares to heare his rod speaking vnto vs.

I thanke you hartily for the spade, Daniell playd the foole to aske yt, having enough to serve our tornes, yt was putt a shore, but in theire hast coming home, I suppose tis lost, for I cannot heare of yt.

I haue not yet had tyme to speake with my wife scarce about my seuerall occassions in the Bay, as flax seed, hemp, Corne &c. which I must referr to the next, the boate being vnder Saile. Soe with harty thanks for your great and vndeserued love vpon euerie torne manefesting yt selfe with my service to your selfe, my sister &c. I rest

Your assured whilest I am Em: Downinge.

15. 2.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, — I haue here in Salem a desire to match my sonne James to a maide that lives in Mr. Endicotts howse: hir sister is maryed here, who sayes the mayd was left to hir dispose by hir parents, but they dying intestate, the administration and tuition of the maide was by the Court comitted to Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Batter* and Goodman Scrugs,* and to helpe Mr. Endicott with some present monie, you wrote to Mr. Hathorne to putt hir to Mr. Endicott to board, who therevpon received 40*li* aforehand for 2 yeares. I haue moved Mr. Hathorne, and Mr. Batter

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* Probably Edmund Batter and Thomas Scruggs. — Eds.

for my sonne, who are well pleased therewith. I purposed to haue acquaynted Mr. Endicott therewith, but that a freind in great secrecye told me that Mr. Batter had in my sonnes behalfe told yt to Mr. Endicott, and as Mr. Endicott said to my good freind Mr. Hathorne that he had the wholl dispose of the maid, and would provide a better match for hir, Mr. Hathorne answered him that they the ffeoffes were trusted with the person and the estate vntill the maid should be of yeares to dispose of hir selfe, which said he, that shee now was of full yeares to dispose of hir selfe, being past 16, for shee is about 17 yeares of age; then Mr. Endicott replyed that he would write to the Gouernour and your selfe about yt. Mr. Hathorne desires not to be knowne of this councell revealed to me &c. I should first haue advised with Mr. Endicott in this, but his freinds desired he should not yet be acquaynted therewith, nor now vntill I heare an answeare from yourselfe, and the Governour, that the Maide be left to hir owne dispose or the ffeoffees to whom before hir full age shee did apperteyne. I pray let me be beholding to you to acquaynt the Governour herewith with my humble dutye to him, that he may doe me right and answer Mr. Endicott without offence that the mayde is of full age, but I leaue the matter and manner myselfe and all to your better Judgement, submitting wholly to the will of God herein. I desire much to see the yssue hereof and to match some of my elder Children because some thinke me to blame that none of them are disposed of. I have provided a verie good match for my neice, Nab. Goade; he is old Moulton his only sonne, a member of our Church, of 4 or 500*li* estate: if my sonns buisines proceede I may about a moneth hence haue both couples maried on a day.

I feared the losse of your accounts which my wife now hath found, being in hir custodye, I purpose now according to promise send in my next the abstract thereof, that you may vnderstand how yt is betweene vs. I pray let

my Cosen Stephen take a receipt of Mr. Treasurrer vpon deliuerie of the 40 bushells of Corne for viij *li* in parte of the rate of Salem, for myne owne parte thereof comes to but 4*li* 10*s*. Soe with my humble service to yourselfe and my good sister I rest Your assured loving brother

EM: DOWNINGE.

20. 11. 40.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO HUGH PETER.

To his verie loving Cosen Mr. Peter at Boston dlr.

MY GOOD COSEN, — Vnderstanding you were resolued to goe by water into the Bay or at least to the shippe, I sent my wife yeasterday with my cosens, purposing my selfe to haue accompanied you by water to the shippe, but though you haue altered your Course and prevented me and some others, yet shall my hart and prayers euer attend you, early and late, at sea and at land, in the Court and in the Countrie vntill you retorne againe vnto vs. Remember my service to Mr. Weld and Mr. Hibbons, whom I had embraced on Shipboard, had you not thus stollen from vs.

The Bishop caused a Quo Warranto to be sued forth in the King's Bench against our Patentees, thinking to damme our patent, and put a generall Gouernour ouer vs, but most of them that appeared I did advise to disclayme, which they might safely doe, being not sworne Magistrats to governe according to the patent; and these Magistrats which doe governe among vs being the only parties to the patent were never summoned to appear, Therefore if there be a Judgement given against the patent, its false and erroneous and ought to be reversed, with a motion in the Kings benche without any long suite by writt of Error may set right againe. Farewell my deare Cosen, Soe wishing you a prosperous Jorney and safe retorne I rest yours assured whilest I am EM. DOWNINGE.

SALEM 5th day morning.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored Cosen John Winthrop, Esqr. — [*torn.*]

[*A few lines destroyed.*] . . . . .

to be soe full [*half a line defaced*] uld nothing further, or hinder your sale with them as the case stands.

My sonne is not yet retorned from Ipswich whom I expect eurie [h]owre and soe haue done these 3 dayes; If you goe for England before yt be done,* yet I will if God permitt pursue yt to the vtmost, and send per the next shippe, that you may receive your monie of his ffather.

My deare and hartye beloved Cosen if I see you not before you goe, yet know you carrye my hart and true affections with you, and shall count eurie day three, vntill you retorne againe. Reade and seall if you can my Cosen Peters letter before you deliuer yt. Soe wishing you a prosperous Jorney and safe retorne I rest

Your assured loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

SALEM 29 July, 1641.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored Cosen John Winthrop Esqr. at Tenhills.

EVER HONORED COSEN, — I blesse God I cam safe to London; where I founde a most miserable distracted state, as you will vnderstand by bookes and passengers; I haue satisfied your Cosen Parkes concerning Roger and theire owne Children.

I delivered your letter to Mris. Hill at the Mayden head in wood street, Mr. Hill was not at home, according my promise to hir I purpose to visit them some tymes. I dyned there to day in hope to haue mett hir husband.

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* John Winthrop, jr., sailed from Boston, Aug. 3, with Peter, Welde, and Hibbins. — EDS.

Shee thinks hir husband will not only release the debt but send you alsoe some comodityes for a portion to advance the elder mayde in marriadge.

I haue spoken with Mr. Waring concerning the 2 children and that he should release your debt towards your chardge about them, he seemed willing thereto, and said he would give order to Mr. Peters about yt, who is now in the Countrye.

William Greenewood is dead. His sonne is come vp, whom I should haue mett this day vpon the Exchange, but I saw him not. Yts like wee may meet to morow and end the buisines.

Since I began to write I heare that goodman Greenwood's sonne is gone into Suffolk, and meanes to come to me a week or fortnight hence. Mr. Vincent hath not yet resolued what to do; whither to take his monie or venture it in the Ironworks. Mr. Thomas Warner was glad to heare of your care to satisfie him with your Tobacco, and seing yt was not your fault, yt shall not trouble him to stay till we pay him here, which I purpose to doe if I can, otherwise he will stay till you send yt.

Mr. Bond hath a mynde to the West Indyes, but is not resolved. He once wished his monie againe with some abatement, and when one of the Companie offred his monie, he refused yt. I haue not yet receiued in your bond, but shall haue yt.

Dr. Child purposeth to come over with me, and writes by this shipp of all his owne affaires vnto you.

If my wife desires 40*s* worth of Cloth let hir haue it or somewhat more.

The vndertakers refuse to buy any land, vnles 2 or 3 acres to build the works vpon. I pray therefore keepe Mr. Hutchinsons land for yourselfe or me, which I suppose wee may improve to good advantage. There is of your black leade sent into France and the lowe countries, when I heare thence I shall know what to doe.

The Adventurers in the Iron works haue agreed with Mr. Leader to take care of theire works. You know the man. He lived in Ireland, He is a perfect Accountant, hath skill in mynes and tryall of mettalls, he hath covenanted to serve them 7 yeares, his wages is 100*li* per annum. He is to haue passadge for himselfe, his wife, 2 children, 3 servants; an howse to be built for him, and ground to be allowed him for his horses and a few cowes. His 100*li* per annum begins the 25th of Marche next. When I perceiued they were resolved vpon him; and that yt would be noe advantage to you for me to haue expressed my dislike of theire way herein, but haue putt more Jealosies into their heads of you; and when they asked me what I thought thereof, I answeared that you had travayled from East to West, from North to South, sparing noe costs or paynes for the discouerie of mynes and fitt places for the erecting of Ironworks; and how you obteyned 3000 acres of Boston, 1500 of Dorchester, wherein you haue deserued well from them, and that there wilbe great neede of your helpe though they send one never soe sufficient for the worke, whereto they replyed that they resolved to satisfie you for the tyme past, and to desire your assistance for tyme to come. Then I told them I was well assured, Mr. Leder should be a welcome man vnto you; for at my coming thence you expressed your desire to me that my selfe or some other would vndertake the buisines; then Mr. Leder told them that he would not medle with any vndertaking of theire buisines without your free consent and contentment, for soe in private he had promised me to expresse himselfe before them all, which he performed verie honestly. Soe in the end wee concluded of a letter to be sent vnto you vnder all our hands in way of thankfulnes and engagement to give you satisfaction. I would haue you demaund noe lesse then 150*li* per annum for these 3 yeares, because Mr. Folye told me when they were agreeing with Mr. Leder, they would haue giuen him 150*li* per

annum rather then to haue left him. And Mr. Folye said further that the first 2 or 3 yeares would be more chardgeable and paynfull then afterwards, and that there wilbe dayly expence in enterteyning of workemen & others, therefore if Mr. Leder had stood vpon yt, he might haue had 150*li* per annum. Concerning your bills of exchange I deliuered only the bill of 1000*li*, whereof, as you may perceiue by theire letter, they entend to pay but 400*li*, and when they pay the monie they will haue a writing signed betweene vs, to this purpose, that yf you shall not haue laid out 400*li* before our ship retornes, the rest is to be repaid to Mr. Leder for the works in monie, and if there shalbe more due to you vpon your account the same to be paid with forbearance. I haue sent you 100*li* worth of cloth per Mr. Graves with the bill of particulars and cockett hereinclosed, the chardges endorsed on the back of the bill. I hope if the Lord sent yt safe you may with good content make 30*li* gayne; I spoke for as much lynen cloth to haue sent you by this ship, but the shipp was full laden before I could gett yt readye. Soe with my seruice to your selfe and your good wife, he dayly prayes for you and yours who is and euer shalbe Your assured loving vnckle whilest I am EM: DOWNINGE.

LONDON 25 ffebr. 1644.

I have sent you 2 bills of loading, one for the Cloath, the other for a few things for my wife. I pray receive them out of the ship. The freight is paid.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his euer honored Cosen John Winthrop esqr at Ten hills nere Boston.

MY GOOD COSEN, — I wrote you at lardge an account of your buisines per Mr. Willoby. I haue not yet receiued any monie for you. They haue promised the 400*li* which

I think they meane to pay shortlye, soe soone as they can gett yt togeather; Mr. Weld and I were agreed soe soone as Mr. Graves shipp should be gone hence to cleare the Account with Maior Boorne, but I am prevented by his suddaine and vnexpected goeing away with Mr. Graves. Mr. Bourne tould vs that he would be ready to goe with vs in Mr. Andrewes shipp, soe that I much marveyled at his goeing with Mr. Graves, he having putt in his name to be an vndertaker in Mr. Andrewes shippe. If there shalbe any thing spoken or moved by him in the Court concerning the Account, I pray procure a stay thereof till I come, and soe for present I take leave and rest

Your verie loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

LONDON this 3 of March 1644.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his euer honored Cosen John Winthrop Esqr. at Mistick nere Boston.

EVER HONORED COSEN, — I wrote at lardge per Mr. Graves, which I hope you haue before the date hereof. Therein I gave you to vnderstand, how the vndertakrs haue chosen one Mr. Leader to take care and oversee the Iron works. He was formerly imployed in Ireland about mynes; They give 100*li* per annum and beare the chardge of his wholl famyly over. They would haue given 150*li* per annum to him rather then to haue left him; they build him an howse; when I perceived they were resolued vpon him, they asked me what I thought of yt; I answeared to this purpose, that you would willinglie consent to yt; for as they would not neglect or slight, but acknowledge and requite your great care, paynes, and charges spent about the same, whereto they all fullie agreed, and soe wrote to you per Mr. Graves vnder all our hands. As then

I wrote soe now I am of the same mynde that you may haue 150*li* per annum allowed you, over and aboue your disbursements vntill Mr. Leader shalbe invested therein. Mr. Leader hath tryed your leade oare and fyndes yt to be a silver myne, therefore I am resolued not to sell any parte thereof.

I haue a friend preparing to come over with me, who doth resolve to make a plantation by your myne, who hath monie enough, and purposeth to improve some therein.

I referre you to my friends letter for all your other buisines; The people generallie here now begyn to disrealishe the West Indyes (as I wrote to your ffather) and torne theire faces towards New England which is in better creditt among all sorts and degrees then yt hath ben for some yeares past. Manie ministers now begyn againe to pray publicklye for yt.

The 20th of this moneth our shipp is to sett sayle, the Good Lord graunt vs a prosperous passadge. Soe for present with my loue to yourselfe your wife and yours I rest Your loving vnckle Em. Downinge.

London 5 May 1645.

7o Maij 1645.

This morning being at the Parliament howse I mett with my freind mentioned in this letter who desires to plant nere your myne, who told me he could not be ready to goe soe soone as our shipp; but tould me, he entended to hire a shipp for himselfe and famyly soe soone as he should gett readye.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his ever honored brother John Winthrop Esqr at Boston.

Sir, — I hartylye thank you for your kynde letter and the newes therein.

A warr with the Narraganset is verie considerable to this plantation, ffor I doubt whither yt be not synne in vs, hauing power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the devill which theire paw wawes often doe; 2lie, If vpon a Just warre the Lord should deliuer them into our hands, wee might easily haue men woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gaynefull pilladge for vs then wee conceive, for I doe not see how wee can thrive vntill wee gett into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisines, for our children's children will hardly see this great Continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedome to plant for them selues, and not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how wee shall maynteyne 20 Moores cheaper then one Englishe servant.

The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with salt which may beare most of the chardge, if not all of yt. But I marvayle Conecticott should any wayes hasard a warre without your advise, which they cannot maynteyne without your helpe.

My wife hath ben pretilye of late, I wishe shee makes hir selfe not sick againe by trying new conclusions. I pray hasten hir retorne, yt being the buisyest tyme of the wholl yeare, for hay and harvest are both in hand, whereby shee hath occasion of often riding, which I suppose the best phisick for hir. Soe with my service to your selfe, my Sister &c. I rest, Yours assured

Em: Downinge.

I pray remember my service to the Gouernor.*

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* The date of this letter was probably during the summer of 1645, when Dudley was Governor, and when there was danger of a war with the Narragansetts. — Eds.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his ever honored brother John Winthrop esqr Deputie Governour.

Sir, — I retorne you manie thanks for your kinde letter and newes. The Generall said, himselfe would retorne thanks in his letter. Mr. Norrice prayed me to remember his service and love to you for the same. I haue neither newes nor buisines to fill vp my letter.

ffor want of other matter give me leave to tell you how our towne is much troubled for the putting out of theire old Captane, wherevpon a day was appoynted by Captane Hauthorne for a new choyce at which tyme the old Captane was chosen againe haueing almost 20 votes more then the new. Both wilbe presented to the Court.

I am sorrye to heare of the continewance of the contagious sicknes about you. I thank God wee are in health here. The good Lord grant vs to vnderstand his mynde thereby. Mr. Broadstreet is about to setle his habitation with vs, at Salem; and to imploy his stock in trading here. Soe with my wives and my service to your selfe and my sister with our love to my Cosens I am

Your verie loving brother Em: Downinge.

Salem 23. 2. 46.

27o. 2.

This drought attributed to the blood vpon the countrie shed of the French.

Mr. Norris sollicited by our Easterne ministers and some others to vrge for Justice therein, that syn may be taken of the Land, as Mr. Sharpe enformed me this afternoone before Mr. Hathorne and some other of our towne, and alsoe that Mr. Norrice should intimate God's displeasure for yt against Maior Gibbons and Captane Haukins in theire seuerall losses. I satisfied Mr. Sharpe fullie therein, that there was no syn vpon the Country in that action, who this euening in private entreated me to goe

to Mr. Norrice about yt, because he thought him to be in an error as himselfe was. When I had cleared the mayne, one obiected our mens marching vnder our Colors, I answeared yt was not done with warrant hence, 2d ob: was your letter to Done, I answeared that it was noe Comission for our men to wrong Done but to demand our right. 3d ob: Done was offended thereat. Ans. yts ordinarie for men to pretend offences when they ought, and will not make restitution. My answeares to the mayne I omitt because this paper is to litle.

Please you to send the wyne per my brother Browne.

I pray Sir tell goodman Nickerson I intreat him to send me a pound of whalebone by the first he can.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO [JOHN WINTHROP].

Ever honored Sir,—I cam home last night out of Suffolke where I left our freinds well, where I found Mr. Leight dwelling in the howse you sould Mr. Warren; yts much ruinous and falne to decay. He sayth that he intends to gett lycence to pull downe halfe of yt to repayre the rest. My brother Gostlin is much broken, but my sister lookes fatt and lusty; they desire to be remembred vnto you, soe doe our freinds at Layes and Cox hall. I mett with Colonell Mildmay vpon the way who inquired verie earnestly after you. Mrs. Bacon of Shrublin is dead, hir 2 Sonns Nath: & Francis are of Parliament.

A Colonell being a Justice in Kent, there was an Inditement read against him for stealing 2 horses: the Colonell said, is there such a knave of my name? not dreaming yt was against himselfe; being a Comittee man, and a Colonell in the Kentish troubles, he tooke the 2 horses from a malignant for the Parliaments service. The Judge stayed the proceedings. The Parliament hath torned out Sir

Chidly out of Comission for perswading the party to preferr the bill. I pray remember my service to Mr. Dudly and lett him see the paper inclosed and then send yt to my wife. Soe with my service to yourselfe, my sister and yours, I am Your loving brother

Em: Downinge.

4. 3. 47.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his ever honored Cosen John Winthrop, Esqr. at Pequoyt dl.

Sir, — I hope you are soe well setled in your occasions there, as to begyn to think now of visiting your freinds in the Bay, the merchants at Salem are sory you accepted not theire propositions for the making of salt; the Good Lord direct you in that way as may be most comfortable to your selfe and profitable to his people.

The witche is condemned, and to be hanged to-morrow, being Lecture Day. A woeman of Exeter caryed some catle to Dover to buy Corne, who with hir Corne received 3*l* in monie for hir catle, and in hir returne to Exeter was murthered and hir monie taken away; yts not yet knowne who did yt; your freinds here are all, blessed be God, in good health; soe with my wives and my love to your selfe my good Cosen and all yours I take leave and am

Your verie loving vnckle Em: Downinge.

Boston 13. 4. 48.

I have even now sold my horse to James Oliver for 10*l* to purchase the still, I pray remember me about the German receipt for making strong water with rye meall without maulting of the Corne, I pray keepe a copie, in Case the noate you send me should miscarye. Vale.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his euer honered Cosen John Winthrop Esqr. at Pequoyte.

Sir,—I am verie sorye to see how you are vsed by your man James, for whose cariadge I referr you to Mris. Lake: such servants will soone wayst all you haue. I pray take yt into dew consideration. I hope you will not loose tyme in erecting a salt worke there, you neede not feare vent here for yt. I pray send me, by the first safe conveyance, the tymbers with the price, for which I shall reterne your pay in strong water, and soe for present I take leave and am Your loving vnckle

Em: Downinge.

20. 4. 48.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored brother John Winthrop esqr Governour, Boston.

Sir, — I expected to haue seene you, in your way to Ipswich, when my long looking for your coming lost me my dynner. I doe now desire to heare how you bore your stormy jorney homwards.

I want the last Grant of the Court to Mr. Humphries of Cosen W. fearme; I am now in hope to haue the howse there repayred before winter, but am not yet fitted with a man to my mynde to dwell there, but not out of hope to haue one against the Spring, as I wrote to you per goodman Gigles, which letter cam back to me againe when you were at Ipswich.

I am now fullie furnished for my stilling buisines; and doe purpose the 3d. or 4th day next to send an horse for goodman Toy: if he comes not the 2d. day, I pray send for him, and I hope he shall not need much intreating to come, seeing yt was his owne offer, with a desire to see

some books I haue about stilling, the which I shall shew vnto him. Soe for present with my wives and my service to your selfe and sister I take leave and am

Your verie loving brother EM: DOWNINGE.

SALEM 29, 7, 48.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored brother John Winthrop Esqr Governour.

SIR, — The verdict passing for Farrington he hath Judgement ffor Stones meadow and 50*s* 4*d* costs with the hay standing vpon the ground, the which I must forth with pay, and shall desire to haue yt repayd to me in Boston. This tryall and judgement must begitt a new law in N. E. that henceforth noe mans land shalbe recouered from the possessor without sufficient warning for the producing his evidence, which I hope wilbe cleared, before the next Court. Its the [*torn*] meadow of the fearme conteyning about 40 acr[es.] [*torn*] hereof when I come to Boston.

I haue proceeded soe farr with Mr. Norton conce[rning] my daughter Luice that wee are agreed vpon [*torn*] portion, and am satisfied from the minister about the obiections made against him: he would haue gone for England this yeare, and will yet goe, if he shall see noe hope of gayning hir love: the minister informes me that his brother is verie plyant to him in all things, and that there is great expectation from help of freinds, having 3 vnckles in London childles, 2 of them haue fyned for Aldermen:* he hath a brother who writes (the letter I read) that he will send him 500 or 1000*li* worth of goods yearly and beare the adventure to and fro. The benefitt his London brother aymes at is to haue retornes made to Barbados to supply his sugar workmen. I pray incouradge my daughter herein,

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* An old law required persons who refused to serve as aldermen to pay a fine. — EDS.

for I suppose shee will not haue such a preferment (if this fayle) in N. E. Soe for present with my service I take leave and am Your verie loving brother

Em: Downinge.

15. 10. 48.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored Cosen John Winthrop, Esqr. at Pequoyt.

Ever honored Cosen, — I am joyfull to heare of your health, but more glad to heare you would retorne and setle here, and not to burye your talents in those obscure parts.

I am advised not to send your salt pan to Boston, but to send it to you in some Catche that goes thither in the spring. Goodman Birt with some other of his neighbours of Lyn are about to sett vp a salt worke at Nahant. Mr. Leder hath cast your pans. Our merchants are where they were, standing to that they offred vnto you.

I haue wrought in stilling these 3 moneths, the water I mak is desired more & rather then the best spirits they bring from London.

My wife writes the newes. My service to your selfe, your wife, my Cosen Lake, you and yours, I take leave and am Your verie loving unckle Em: Downinge.

17. 10. 48.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor the Governour.

Sir, — The Farringtons of Lyn the last weeke did warne my late tenant, goodman Southwick, about the hay he cut at the Ponds, to answeare yt before the Major who referred it to a tryall at Salem Court, which was yeasterday. I told the Major I had not warning suffitient

to defend the title of the land, in regard the question was about Stone's meadoe, the Farringtons calling one barren place by that name, and wee an other which is verie good. Goodman Stone of Nantascott, of whom the place tooke yts name can cleare yt, whom I could not possiblie haue here by that tyme: soe I offred the Court to secure the playntiff's damages if he should recover the land by a tryall next Court; but the playntiff would not forbeare his tryall, soe he produced his witnesses, who affirmed the barren meadoe to be Stone's meadoe, and the other though nerer the Pond yet above a mile from yt. The Jury hath yt now in chardge. I excepted against the Jury men of Lyn as parties: what the yssue wil be I shall know this day. The contents of the land is about 30 or 40 acres. You shall heare more, God willing, shortly: soe for present with my service to your selfe, sister, & Cosen Adam, I take leave and am Your loving brother

Em. Downinge.

27. 10. 48.

The Court told the plaintife this tryall could not end the buisines, but begitt an other suite and tryall.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored brother John Winthrop esqr. Gouernor.

Sir, — this day Mr. Norton (who preached here yeasterday) is retorned to Ipswich. He cam to make vp the bargaine for his brother, with my daughter: wee haue received fayre answeares to the manie obiections made against him, there was noe mention of any letter from Boston. After full hearing, my wife, my daughter and my selfe consented freely to proceed, vnles within a few dayes vpon further light wee should haue just matter

presented to give cause to breake of. The Good Lord direct vs. I haue sent my daughter to supply my sisters want for present. Mr. Norton desires hir speedy returne, but I referr hir to my sisters occasions for her longer or shorter stay there.

I make litle doubt of sufficient testymonie to recover my Cosens meadow, yet I pray send me goodman Stones testymonie or procure him to come over and view the place and then to leave his testymonie. Your strong water shall not I hope be the lesse for yts long stay.

Many here question the truth of the reports about Collonell R.

I hope my Cosen Adam wilbe better advised then to goe in this shipp for Plymouth, his danger may be more, thence to London, then from hence, &c. Soe for present with my service to your selfe and my sister I take leave and am your verie loving brother EM. DOWNINGE.

22. 11. 48.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

SIR, — According your direction I haue advised with Mr. Endicott & some others about Mr. Pesler with whom I am rather encouradged to proceede then to breake of, but Mr. Hathorne tells me from the Elders of the Bay that it wilbe a scandall to marry my daughter to such a man that hath noe religion, he sayth that I was stayned in poynt of coveteousnes in Mr. Cooks buisines, for demanding my monie before it was dew; (wherein Mr. Sheapheard having the papers I sent may doe me right.) And now in this match, yt wilbe confirmed in theire opinions that I preferr the world above all, which is farr contrarie to my desire and resolution,

Its well knowne how my daughter hath lost fayre opportunityes, and in those tymes when I had monie at will,

to haue spared hir, whereof shee is now verie sensible, and feares that if shee should refuse Mr. Pesler shee may stay long ere shee meet with a better, vnles I had more monie for hir then now I can spare. I pray afoard me your councell herein:

Mr. Norris preached here last Saboth to the well likeing of most, some few only founde fault with the weaknes of his voyce. I am in some hope to haue him setle with vs. I heare now my Cow is reasonable well. I pray let hir be sold with the Calfe. I could sell hir if shee were here, but I had rather doe yt there to pay you. I doe want 10 bushells of Rye for seede, which I would sowe 3 weeks or a moneth hence at farthest, for which I must entreat you to lett me haue yt. I entend to send sacks or casks for yt. Soe for present I rest yours assured — Em: Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored Cosen John Winthrop esqr at Boston.

Ever honored Cosen, — I doe condole with you for the losse of our Governour,* which lyes soe heavy on my hart as I know not how to remove yt. The day I had appoynted to visit him, I fell sick of a feever: I am through mercye in bodyly health, but not fitt to travaile. I haue manie things to speak to you, which I cannot write at present, my wife and I hope to see you at Salem before your retorne; in confidence whereof I conclude abruptly and shall euer be your assured loving vnckle whilest I am Em: Downinge.

Salem 6. 2. 49.

[Postscript, in the handwriting of Lucy Downing, wife of Emanuel.]

Dear Sir, — Goe not backe so long a voyage till wee haue the happines to see you, and hear howe all att

* Gov. Winthrop died 26th March, 1649. His son came from Connecticut to attend his funeral, which took place on the 3d of April. — Eds.

Pecoite. I hope you haue had 2 letters from me since you went and that was all, in respect I heard not from you. I will promis my selfe you will come. Sir, my seruis to my sister and cosens I pray, and intreat you to bring what in the note in your pocket. If my cosen Adam or your selfe meet with anny writings of mine I desire they maye be keept safe.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Sir, — I thank you for letter by John Conklin the bearer hereof, who can informe you of our condition here, wee haue had a mild winter vntill the begynning of the 11th month: and then fell snow vpon snowe which lay till the later end of the first month: and then a pleasant and noe backward spring. 2 ships come one from Dartmouth, the other from Bristoe; they bring newes, how the Prince was preparing to goe for Ireland, where Ormond and Inchequyn were Masters of the ffeild and lay with 25000 men betwene Dublin and Tredath, dayly threatening to storme Dublin, wherein was Collonell Jones with 5000 men, who yssuying out, not purposing to charge vpon the wholl army, was ingaged before he was aware, tooke 5000 prisoners, slew manie and overthrew theire wholl army: the Prince hearing this went for France and thence for Holland, is now at Breda. After this Cromwell went to Dublin, thence to Tredath where he lost manie men, but at last took it by storming, and putt all to the sword, but 200 who in a fort had quarter, thence he went to Wexford, took it and putt most of them to the sword, left Collonell Cooke there Governour, (late of Cambridge). Ireland is almost wholly subdued. I suppose Mr. Leadder will hardly retorne hither.

The Parliament hath made proclamation to pay their Soldiers all areares as haue ben imployed, as well as those

in this present army, with the Kings lands; which is a notable policy to quyet the land.

Your ffather Peters is a Collonell and Governour of Milford Haven. Prince Rupert is in the streights in way of piracy.

Noe certeynty of any forreigne enemy to trouble England. The Parliaments fleet keeps the Seas cleare.

Soe in hope to see you here shortly, we being all in health, with my love and service to your selfe, wife, sister Lake, my Cosen Elsabeth, Fits &c.

I take leave and am yours [*Signature destroyed.*]

Salem 29, 2. 50.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his ever honored Cosen John Winthrop Esqr at Pequoyte, dlr.

Sir, — I am glad to heare of your health and welfare. I blesse God wee are in health here and soe be our freinds at Boston. Mr. Rogers of Rowly hath last weeke buryed his wife and childe within a few dayes after shee was brought to bed. I suppose you haue heard how Mr. Leddar hath left the Iron works, and lives at present in Boston, he is about erecting a saw mill at a place nere Pascattaway that shall work with nere 20 sawes at once. Here is one Jeffries come in Mr. Leddars place, he was heretofore maior Gibbons man, he hath bin these 4 or 5 yeares past imployed in England as Clark to an Iron worke.

Wee heare that Mr. Damport and Mr. Eaton are goeing for England. I cannot give much creditt thereto, I hope you will not resolve to goe before you give your freinds a visit here. Boston hath given Mr. Eaton a call to sett downe with them.

You heare how Major Gibbons will not be perswaded to be a Magistrate.

My sonne George hath sent a letter to his mother wherein he mentions 2 letters sent before, which I haue

not received; in this letter he writes not a word of my buisines. I heare by divers, of his purchase of 2 or 300*l* per annum; my Sonne Norton saw the last payment at Mr. Winslows chamber. There be divers which talk of removing hence to your plantation, whereof some though meane in estate, yet vsefull working men. Soe with my love to my Cosen Lake and yours, and myne and my daughter Nortons and hir husband's service to yourselfe and your good wife, I take leave and shall ever be whilest I am

Your verie loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

My service to Mr. Blynman & his wife; his Church at Gloster is calling Captane Perkins into office.

SALEM 24, 12 mo. 1650.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his ever honored Cosen John Winthrop Esq at Pequoite.

HONORED SIR, — I suppose you haue heard the good newes out of England long ere this, how the Scotts King marched into England with 22000 as farr as Worster without any opposition. Massy his generall assured the king that all England would come vnto him, but he was refused entrance vntill he cam to Worster, by all the townes he cam by: the Scotts army was not increased above 5 or 6000 by all the Englishe that repayred vnto him; Collonell Monck surprised all his treasure (in Scotland) which he had provided to carye with him for the payment of his army, and with yt tooke old Lesley and divers other principall men: When the King cam to Glocester where Massy had ben Governour, the King sent to the Governour to surrender to him with great promises of preferment, the Governour sends answeare and directs yt to him not as King but Commander in Cheife of the Scotts army and tells him he was better principled then to be traytor to the Parliament who had intrusted him, Generall Cromwell

writes that at the taking of Worster, there was 4 howres as hard dispute as ever he mett with, In this fight Massy was slayne,* the King threw away his George, starr & garter, and fled as a comon Soldjer, is gott into France where he found cold enterteynment. Worster was given to the soldjers to plunder, most of the army was taken or slayne, Earle of Darby beheaded, Earle of Cleavland and manie more lords in prison, Scotland submitts, the Lord St. Johns, Sir Henery Vane, Collonells Lamberton, Harrison, Deane and my sonne† in October last were sent into Scotland to setle it (as Wales is). The records of Scotland are sent to the Tower of London, There is an act past for the keeping of the 3d of 7ber a day of thanksgiving for ever, for the victory of Worster that day, and the great victory at Dunbar that day 12 month, where George received 3 great wounds on his arme besides others but is well againe. There is an act to punishe all heresyes with death that rase foundations, and all Anabaptists to be banished, and if they retorne to England to be hanged vnles they recant.

At Lyn here is good store of salt made. They prepare their liquor in woodden pans as I am informed. I thinke long to see yt. George writes my buisines is not yet done, neither could he stay to effect yt, thus with my wives and my service to yourselfe wife and Cosens Mr. Blynman and his wife I rest and am your loving unckle

Em: Downinge.

Salem 7 of 1 mo. 51.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his euer honered Cosen John Winthrop Esqr, at Pequyt.

Euer honored Cosen,—I am sorry for occasion of sad tydings hence vnto you, but I suppose these will not be

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* Massy was not slain, as it proved, though badly wounded. — Eds.

† Sir George Downing. — Eds.

the first intelligence thereof. Yeasterday your brother Adam Winthrop was buryed, who dyed the third day before, hauing layne sick fiue or six dayes, but in such manner as neither himselfe nor any freind about him suspected his death scarce halfe an howre before he departed, who neither made will nor gave any word of directions concerning his estate though in perfect memorie, and wise men about him, he dying in the Elders armes. His wife and others your nere relations here doe earnestly entreat your speedy repayre hither, because the ordering of the buisines about his wife, child, and the rest is refered to your coming. Soe with my wives, the widowes and my service to yourselfe your wife, Mris. Lake, my cosens &c. I take leave and am Your loving vnckle

Boston 28 of the 6th month 1652. Em: Downinge.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored Cosen John Winthrop esq. at Pequoit.

Deare Sir, — I wrote this winter to you with letters therein inclosed to my Cosen Mountagew; I directed them to Amos Richardson to be sent vnto you. There were letters alsoe from Mr. Peters to your selfe who invites you to retorne to England, and writes that if my wife will retorne shee shalbe as welcome to him as to hir owne childe. George hath putt Joshua into a Customes place in Scotland. I haue had noe letters from Joshua, nor any from George in answeare to any thing I wrote to him: he wrote a short loving letter to my wife, and excuseth his not sending any thing to hir in regard of the troubles at Sea. Scotland is quiet. The Dutch haue proclaymed warr with England, with whom there have ben divers Sea fights, and in everie of them the Dutch haue ben worsted. The Spaynyard hath by the helpe of the English regayned

Dunkirke, Cardinall Maseryne hath left the French Court and is retyred to the boarders, yet France continues still on fire. Ensigne Dixie, as I wrote, sayth your pan is not worth the double loading and vnloading, and therefore adviseth John Gallop to come to Salem and receive yt there, but if I can prevaile yt shalbe sent to Boston, where Mr. Norton is like to succede in Mr. Cottons place.

I suspect George would haue vs retorne, and putts Mr. Peters vpon the invitation, Thus with my love and service to yourselfe, wife, children, cosen Lake and honest Mr. Blynman and his good wife, I take leave and am Your loving vnckle Em: Downinge.

Salem 15 of the first mo. 52.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much honored Cosen John Winthrop Esqr. at Pequoite.

Ever honored Cosen, —When I vnderstood that John Gallop was come to Boston, I went to the Iron works and told goodman Jenks of the present opportunitye to send your sawes, who told me he had twoe ready which he would send you: those I hope you haue received, but I could not procure your Iron pan to be sent to Boston as was desired, though often promised to haue yt conveyed thither: at last Dixie said that your best way to haue your pan is to appoynt the vessell to take yt in here that should carrye yt to Pequoit, which will prevent trouble and hasard of spoyling your pan in lying vpon any wharfe at Boston, and it might be shipt and vnshipt againe, whereas once shipping it will serve if your vessell call for it.

Mr. Norton of Ipswich is like to be removed to supply Mr. Cottons place, Boston hath called him, Ipswich refuseth. The matter is referred to six Churches, 3 chosen

for Boston, 3 for Ipswich; there be chosen for Boston, Salem, Cambridge, and Dorchester; ffor Ipswich, Lyn, Newbery, and Dedham; the next fourth day they meet at Ipswich to end the difference.

I suppose you haue heard the report of Mr. Yong laden from your parts to the West Indyes to be taken by Prince Rupart; yts probable but not certeyne, I say probable because Rupart is in these parts whither he was bound.

The Dutch haue proclaymed warr against England, manie fights haue ben at sea between them, and in all of them the Dutch haue ben worsted; Mr. Winsloe writes that the State of England expects wee should deall with the Dutch here as enemyes. Collonell Lamberton was appoynted to be Deputy of Ireland, made preparations for yt, but, (in the interim) Collonell Charles Fleetwood marrieth Ireton's widow, Generall Cromwells daughter, wherevppon Fleetwood is appoynted Deputye, to the great discontent of manie that should haue gone with Lamberton. There is noe considerable force with the rebells of Ireland or Scotland.

I heare nothing from George nor Joshua about my buisines. Mr. Peters writes that George doth well to wonder, I suppose he meanes wonderfull well. He writes for your family to goe over, and writes that my wife shalbe as welcome to him as to hir owne sonne. Soe with my love and service to your selfe, wife, children, and Mris. Lake I take leave and am

Your loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

SALEM 14. 12. 1652.

My Service to Mr. Blynman & his wife.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

SIR, — My last were by Amos Richardson concerning Pottashes &c. you know here growes a weed verie plenti-

fullie in these parts which produceth indico as good as that which comes from the East Indyes, being farr better then the west Indy indico, wee can perceive noe difference betwene the weed which growes here and that of Barbados but only in the colour of the flowers, Some haue mad tryall of it here, but with much more labour then there needs, for after they had steeped it in water, they beated with staves vntill it thickned, whereas an instrument made like a west-country churne would with ease effect yt. If the weed growes there as it doth here you may make a buisines of it to good account, if [it] growes not there or not soe plentifullie as to maynteyne a worke, you may easily procure seed from Barbados or hence to begynne the buisines. This bearer goodman Raymond was verie desirous to haue a letter, which forced me to study some thing to forme a letter of. Soe for present with my wives and my love and service to yourselfe, wife, sister Lake, Mr. Blynman and his wife and all yours, I take leave and am

Your loving vnckle EM: DOWNINGE.

Noe certeyne newes out of England, but by flying reports from Virginea that the Dutch lost 30 saile of merchants and 10 men of war on Goodwin sands, and that there is hope of peace because there was a comand to all Sea men not to medle with the Dutch vntill further directions.

SALEM 13. 1. 53.

INDIGO. *The receipt for making of Indigo.*—1 or 2 houres after the herb is cutt, lay it in a fatt, presse it downe hard with a beame over cross barres that aire may come to it till it worke & raise the barrs, let it lye 24 houres, then fill the fatt halfe full of water till the weede rott in the water, vsually in 24 houres, then fill the fatt full. So lett it stand vntill it come to a coulor within 3 daies tyme the weede vnrotted take out lett the rest stand 24 houres

more then stirre it that it may all runne out into an other fatt: then beate it & poure it in & out with bucketts & that incessantly, till it come to one perfect coulor, lett it then settle, make then a tap to draw forth all the thin water, then take vp the bottom remaining into baggs that will hold 5 pound weight, made of strong canvasse with an hoope on the top, & then a stick acrosse, by which hang it in a house & save the droppings, which will make a good Coulor (so the first drawne water a reasonable coulor) in an houres tyme the water will all dropp out of the bagge, then take the remaining Indico into boxes, in which lay the Indico some 3 fingers thick, which set in the sunne & let them candy (else in an oven or stove to dry temperately not in hast,) then whilest it is drying slice it with a knife. Memo: the vine cotton like to grow heere.*

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much honored Cosen John Winthrop att Pequote.

Honored Cosen, — I suppose you haue heard of the taking of St. Johns, Port royall, and Penobscott from the French by Maior Sedgewick, Portroyall only made a litle resistance, where 2 men of ours were slayne and fowre French men whereof one was theire cheife Preist. There was a shipp lately arived from France which the soldiers plundered, yt had 16 great guns which Generall Sedgewick tooke into his owne ships, and gave the shipp to the French to carye them home, there was found among the Preists clothes a manuscript contayning the rules of theire government, which are more divilishe then Machivills.

Here is newes come from Newfoundland that the

* The above is in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut; and was found in the letter of Downing, dated 13. 1. '53. — Eds.

State of England sent a fleet to surprise the French at Canada, but because the yeare was farr spent they retorned with resolution to come early in the Spring, the newes alsoe is that warrs are proclaymed with France, here be shipps expected dayly out of England who will bring the truth of it.

I should haue ben glad to haue seene you here this sommer. I am now purposed God willing to goe for England with Generall Sedgewick, which wilbe within these 2 moneths at furthest if not sooner; if I could I would make a iorny of purpose to see you, vnles you write to Captaine Cane to prevent it, I may haue much trouble about the subscription for the Iron works. Your freinds are all well at Salem, the which I pray for with you. Soe with my love and service to your selfe, your wife, Mr. Blynman & his wife, Mris. Lake and your daughters I take leave and rest Your loving unckle whilest I am

EM: DOWNINGE.

BOSTON 25th of 7ber 1654.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO FITZ JOHN WINTHROP.*

MY GOOD COSEN, — I am glad Providence hath brought you safe into these parts, and shall reioyce to haue your companie here and if you meet not with imployment there, my advise is when the season will permitt, that you come downe hither. I know your vnkle Reade wilbe glad to see you and verie ready to helpe your accomodation. I cease further trouble only to tell I am Your loving vnckle

EM: DOWNINGE.

EDENBR. 2 ffebr. '57.

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* Fitz John Winthrop, the eldest son of John Winthrop, Jr., had gone over to England to seek service in the civil wars. He soon obtained a commission as lieutenant, and afterwards as captain, in the regiment commanded by his mother's brother, Col. Thomas Reade, who was Governor of Stirling Castle. — EDS.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.*

ffor The honoured John Winthorpe Esqr, Governour att Connecticon. In New england — These.

Sir, — I would be very glad to hear from your self of the health and wellfare of you and yours, and more should I rejoyce to enjoy your companie, if Provydence should so order it. Your Aunt and Cousin Martha are better affected with Scotland then I expected. Wee are heer in a comfortable way both for the meanes of grace, and for the outward man. But for Newes at this distance from the Court I can wrytt you nothing, but what you may hear from better hands thence. The great talk heer at present is of the King of Swedens, who taking advantage of this late frost, the like wherof haue not been since the memory of man, carried his Army over and subdued the principle parts of Denmark, and possest himself of the Island, wherby he hath the one half of the benefeit of the passage th[rough] the sound, and hath confined the King of Denma[rk] to his Northern parts of his Cuntry and layed a fyne vpon him of Two hundred and fyftie thousand pounds, and to give satisfaction to his father in law, the Duke of Holstein for all his damnagis, his cuntry being the seate of war. And further to allow the King of Swedens four Regiments of horse and foot and free quarters for his Army vntil May. I know you will haue a more compleit account of the Newes hence by your sonn and brother† then I can affoord you. Therefore I cease from further trouble only to tell I am

Your Loveing Vncle

Eman: Downing.

Edinburgh the 27th of March 1658.

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* Downing seems to have employed an amanuensis in writing this letter. — Eds.

† The brother here mentioned was Col. Stephen Winthrop, son of the elder John Winthrop, who commanded a regiment in the civil wars, and was a member of one of Cromwell's parliaments (1656), for Bamff and Aberdeen. — Eds.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO FITZ JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor Mr. Winthrop att Sterling.

My good Cosen, — I am glad yt pleaseth our heavenly father to continew your health in these Northern parts; yts a blessing which calleth for thanks to heaven, for manie haue mett with much sicknes vppon the change of the ayre.

You haue noe cause to be troubled about your buisines for that its not retorned according the tyme you expected the same, for his highnes hath ben verie sick and is now prety well againe, and I hope shortly will fall to dispatch buisines: and whereas you desire my counsell, I must tell you that you haue great cause to blesse God, who hath vnited your vnckles hart vnto you, who is resolved to make it his buisines to setle you in a way of preferment, therefore let me advise you to acquiesce in him, and him alone vnder God: as for your other place intreat your vnckle to write to your Maior for further tyme; but the truth is, I conceive it not worth the while whither you hold the intended place or noe, and not worth the spending the favour of a freind for it, I cease further trouble only to tell I am

Your loving vnckle

Em: Downinge.

Your Aunt remembers her love to you, your Aunt and Cosens.

From Edinborough, the 6th of September. 1658.

EMANUEL DOWNING TO FITZ JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor his Loving Nephew Livt Phitts-John Winthrope, at Sterling.

Loving Cosen, — I am glad to heare you are well and in health, and of the health of your vncle and Aunt and Cosens. Pray present my service to them. Wee received too long letters from your father wherein he writes of the like mortallity there as has beene in England. Mr. Cogan of Boston is dead and many more which I forbeare to name, because I suppose are vnknowne to you. I cease further trouble only to tell I am Your Loving vncle Em: Downinge.

Edenb. 9th 10, 1658.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

Brother Downinge, — I pray paye to this bearer Mr. John Revell or his Assignes the summe of 21*li* 9*s* which is due for certaine provisions of one Rich: Childe which Mr. Revell sent to me here I praye paye it within 14 dyes after receipt hereof. So I rest Your loving brother

Jo: Winthrop.

Charlton in N: England, July 23, 1630.

Received this 30 of September 1630 in full of this bell of Exchang the some of Twenty one pounds nine shilenes. I say Rec'd by me Richard Child.

l	*s*	*d.*
21	09	00

(*Endorsed*)

Accepted this bill in the name of Mr. Emanuell Downing this fifteenth day of September.

per me, John Winthrop [Jr.].

[London.]

Mr. Downing, — These are to intreate you upon sight of this second bill (the first and third bill giuen for this somme unpayd) to pay unto Mr. William Bundock master of the shippe William and Thomas or to his assignes the some of fower pounds which is part of ye seauen pounds seauenteene shillings which Mr. Griffith Waller is to receaue of you for parcells sold to John Wintrop esquire Gouernor of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England in America.

Herof I doubt not of your performance.

Your assured frend Isa: Johnson.

Salem in New Engl: 19 Aug: 1630.

Mr. Downing liues at his house nere Fleete Conduit, at ye Bishopps head.

Mr. Downinge, — I pray pay to Mr. Greffeth Wallar ffiftie shillings off the a boff sayd som ffor his owne ease & the other 30 Shillings pray pay to my wiff at the syt off this bell & this shall be svffeshent dishcharg.

William Bvndvck.

(*Endorsed*)

Received the 4th of November 1630 of Mr. John Winthrop in full of this bill the summe of fifty shillings by the apointment of my mr Daniell Dobbins to the vse of Mr. Griffeth Waller. I say received. li 2.–10 s.

per me *I S* John Savill his marke.

XXXo. die Octobr 1630.

Received by me Elizabeth Banduck the some of Thirty shillings as my parte of this bill within written, being lawfull english monie, I say received the day & moneth aboue written of Mr. John Winthrop gent. sonne to the within named John Winthrop Esquire. xxx.s

By me *B* Eliz: Bunduck, her marke.

BOND.

Whereas John Winthrop, Junr. esqr. hath put me into the Ironworke as an adventurour and given me credit for fiftye pounds therein; and given me tyme for the payment of the said 50*li.* till my retorne next yeare out of England, if therefore I shall not pay him the said 50*li.* before the first day of September next, that then the said 50*li.* shalbe and remayne to the sole and proper vse of the said John his heires and assignes for ever. Witnes my hand this 16 of December 1644. Em: Downinge.

Witness Adam Winthrop.

DEED FROM EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Bee it knowne to all men by these presentes that I Emanuel Downing of Salem in New England in Consideration of the sume of sixty pounds sterling to me in hand payd by John Winthrop Junior Esqr. in Cattle & other goods, doe assigne, sell & set over vnto Thomas Vincent of London all my right & interest as an Vndertaker in the Iron Works, wherein my part & share is fifty pounds, as by theere bookes wherein the Vndertakers Shares & adventures are sett downe doth & may appeare, To haue & to hould the said share vnto him the said Thomas his heires & Executors, with all the Benefitts & profitts thereof forever, Witnes my hand & seale this 30th day of October 1645. Emmanuel Downeing & a Seale.

Witnes John Coggan
Willm. Aspinwall.

I William Aspinwall Notary & Tabellion publick by Authority of the Generall Court of the Massachvsets appointed doe testify this to be a true Copie of the Originall Deed & by me examined, Witnes my hand this 20th of December, 1645, Willm Aspinwall, *Notary Public.*

1645.

HUGH PETER AND EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our honored brother John Winthrop, Sen. Esqr. these present, in Boston.

Deere Sir, — Wee are bold to intreat your furtherance in counsell and other helpe for the suppressing pipe staff riuers and clabords in our towne; because wee haue 2 or 3 ships building. Wee desire that within 2 or 3 miles neere any riuer they may not fell great tymber fit for shipping; for they may as well cut it further of, it being so portable, and ship-timber being so heavy. Your letter to Mr. Endecot by this bearer will helpe vs very much. This bearer will giue you more reasons then wee can, to whom wee intreat you would bee pleased to listen.

These men cut downe but halfe of the tree for their vse, & the rest lyes rotting & spoyles our Comons, with many more inconveniencyes then wee name. Thus craving your wonted and lawfull favor herein, with our due salutations doe rest Yours in all duty

Hu: Peter.
Em: Downinge.*

Salem 13, 11, 40.

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* The above letter is placed between those of Downing and Peter, as bearing the signature of both these writers, although not in its chronological order as to either collection. — Eds.

LETTERS OF HUGH PETER.*

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my deer & louing Sonne, Mr. John Winthrop, iunior. these dlr. Boston.

Deere Hart, — Mee thought I broke from you too abruptly last day. My hart is with you. I can say no more but this. Streighten your accounts and in them bee curious. Leaue your mind for mee about your Ipswich busines in writing; and if you will send 20*l* to Mr. Endecot you may seale it vp & send it by this bearer. I am buying goates. Salute all yours, tell your wife I will not be long from her. The blessing of heaven bee vpon you & him who is Yours whilst any thing

Hu: Peter.

Saguse 2d. day.

Leave things with your father in some order for feare of the worst, whom with my mother I pray salute from me vnfaynedly.

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* Hugh Peters (who, it will be observed, habitually wrote his name without the final *s*) had married the widow of Edmand Reade, Esq., of Essex; and had thus become the father-in-law of the younger Winthrop's wife. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1616, and of Master in 1622. He was licensed by the Bishop of London, and preached at St. Sepulchre's with great success. His nonconformity brought him into trouble; and he went over to Holland, where he spent five or six years, as pastor of the English church at Rotterdam. From there he came to New England in 1635, and remained till 1641. He took an active part in the civil wars of England, on the side of Cromwell; and, on the Restoration, was arraigned and convicted as a regicide. He was executed at Charing Cross, Oct. 16, 1660. — *Caulfield's High Court of Justice*, pp. 104–112. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esqr. Boston.

Deerest Sir, — I cannot let so many dayes and nights passe without speaking with you, and now I am at it I haue little to say but that I long to haue your ioyes and peace to continue full; and that much of my comfort is wrapt vp in yours. A little newes I had out of a late letter come to hand out of England, which you may tell the Gouernour,* from me to make him laugh viz: that there was a fast in England, and at Bristow in one Church whilst they were preaching a great Bull broke into the church-yard and a company of boyes followed him with squibs; the people within were taken vp before with thoughts that the papists that day would rise, & had warding all the Country ouer; the Bull & the squibs so wrought vpon their melancholy braynes, that one cryes out if I perish I'll perish here, another swounds away, another they are come, they are come. Mr. Prichard the preachers wife cryes to her husband in the pulpit, come downe (husband) come downe, the tyme is come, & much of this. At Taunton brimstone was smelt in the church & such another combustion as when Trestrams boy gote into the fryars Cools.

In hast I rest Yours & euer so

H: Peter.

Salem 2d day.

We desire a day of thanksgiuing 4th day sennight. I haue wished this bearer to buy me some bees.

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* Perhaps Vane, who was Governor in 1636. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*To my frend and son Mr. John Winthrop yonger, these dlr. Boston.**

Deere Sir, — By these you may vnderstand that I haue receiued your letters and am glad our busines goes on, though I am very tender of your personall aduenture in the busines, in which I pray be very carefull by all meanes. You know many haue an interest in you. For my part I neuer meant lesse then to goe with you, but God's hand hath bin and is vpon mee more and more in the weaknes of my body, which declynes dayly. For the nayles at Salem there are diuers very much rusted, & so are the clinchers; for the things in the Barke I pray bee carefull of, these are they I thought you should not haue carryed with you, because I feare that our frends will alter their purposes when they come. I am sorry for the short provisions in the bay; it is so all ouer. Helpe Lord! and I hope hee will helpe. Salute honest Mr. Garddner & the rest. My hart is with you & your iourney, and my prayers shall follow you.

For those things which concerne the Generall, I shall comunicate to Mr. Humfry who is home for this Court. I doe not know how too send these nayles you write. There is also 20 or 30 barres of iron left and some meale. To carry too many things thither, as guns, etc. may not be so advantagious for ought I see. The Lord doe you good abundantly. I am yours euer, frend & father

H: Peter.

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* Probably written in 1636, at the departure of the younger Winthrop to join Gardner at the mouth of the Connecticut. — See, among the letters of John Winthrop, Jr., in this volume, one written by him to his father, bearing date April 7, 1636. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.*

NEWES.

Deerest Sir,—We haue a fishing ship come in hither of 200 tuns, the Master Mr. King, shee belongs to Mr. Hooke of Bristoll whose son dwells at Agamenticus, & marryed Capt: Norton's widdow, to whom his father hath sent 10 cowes, & not lost one by the way. Lesse then 10 weekes coming from Bristoll. All they say is that Capt. Raynsborough is come from Sally†, brough[t] 140 slaues English, made a peace with the king of Morocco, who beleaguered it by land whilst ours did it by sea, & it was deliuerd by accord; 20 Morocco gallants came home to our king with presents; a great fleet gon for Argisa. Not a Turke about our coasts. Some ships are making ready this way. Corne cheaper here then in England.

INVOYCE.

Butter at 7d per lb.	Mascadine . . . 6: 6.
Cheese at 7d. per lb	Irish beefe the tun 50s
Sack, per gal. 6s	Irish rugs . . . 14s.

They are so deere wee shall not deale with them. Another ship is gone into Pascataway; they had the cold storme at sea. Boston men are thinking of Delawar bay. Mr. Prudden goes to Qvinipiak. Mr. Davenport may sit down at Charlestowne. Mr. Eaton very ill of the skurvey. An eele py. Angells appeare at Boston. Be secret. Your sister Symonds recovering. Berdall hath buryed his wife. Another eele py. Wee haue tomorrow morning Jiggells

* Probably written from Salem, about the latter part of the year 1637, O. S.— Eds.

† Sallee, a city in the province of Fez, noted at that time both for trade and piracy. For an account of Rainsborough's expedition, see Harris's "Lives of James I. and Charles I.," &c., ii. 193–198.

going to your Governour laden with wood; some dred of the frost at Boston. I wish you were here to goe with vs to Boston 2d day. Salute your wife from vs.

I am you know H: P.

I pray pay Samuel Greenfield 10*s.* for mee. He is of your towne & will come to you.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our noble Gouernour John Winthrop Esqr. These dlr. Boston.

Sir, — Mr. Endecot and my selfe salute you in the Lord Jesus, etc. Wee haue heard of a diuidence of women and children* in the bay and would bee glad of a share viz: a young woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good: I wrote to you for some boyes for Bermudas, which I thinke is considerable.

Besides wee are bold to impart our thoughts about the Corne at Pequoit, which wee wish were all cut downe, or left to the Naragansicks rather than for vs to take it, for wee feare it will proue a snare thus to hunt after their goods whilst wee come forth pretending only the doing of Justice, and wee beleeue it would strike more terror into the Indians so to doe: It will neuer quit cost for vs to keepe it.

Wee are not well at ease, some of vs viz: Mr. Endecot & my selfe, but wee haue a strong God, to whom wee commend you & my deere & much honourd sister, tendering all our respects vnto you vnfaynedly I am

Yours vnworthy of you. Hugh Peter.

Salem last day.

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* Pequot captives. — See Winthrop's History of New England, i. 232, under date July, 1637. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Honored Court now set at Boston.

Whereas it pleased the Lord by diuers occasions to exercise our honored brother Mr. Humfrey so, as his condition is generally taken notice of in the Country to bee such that without some helpe his frends feare the Gospell may suffer by his sufferings.

By the aduice of frends I am bold to desire the Counsell, fauor, and assistance of the Court now assembled in his behalfe, and finding the Country so charged already by necessary rates, I haue only this way of some succor to present to your wisedomes viz: that whereas hee hath some mony in his hands intended to some publike vse, if that may be remitted to his owne being one hundred and odde pounds; and if therunto you shall aduise I shall pay him what Mr. Geere left to some of vs to dispose of for the Country, I suppose it may answer good part of his necessity, thoughe I perceiue lesse then 700*l* besides the sale of much of his estate will not cleere him.

Herin I shall wayt your pleasure and shall euer bee (as I am bound) Yours, Hugh Peter.

Salem, 10 (7)*

[The "Answer" of the Court to the foregoing petition appears in the margin thereof, in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Esq., Governor, in the words following: —]

The Court vpon hearing this Petition, & muche argument & consideration thereof did declare theire tender regard of the gentleman & his condition, & their ready-

* Probably 1638. The General-Court Records are silent on the subject of this petition; but in June, 1639, "It was ordered that a letter should be sent to Mr. Humfrey to send in the 100*l* which is in his hand to further the college." — *Colonial Records*, i. 263. Subsequently, an allowance of £250 was made to Mr. Humfrey. — *Ibid.*, i. 294. — Eds.

nesse to helpe to supporte him: but they are not satisfied that his estate is so lowe as it should call for any such public helpe, & if it should appeare so they would then see a faire waye how such helpe may be vsefull to him for the intended ende.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Good Son, — My truest loue vnto you and all yours in Jesus Christ our deerest Lord. These may certifye you that I doe long for your company as much as the teeming earth for the rising sun. Let not your wife bee ouer deiected, for my part I am as deep in my obstructions as at Rotterdam. I pray speake to your wife that Mat: Lake* and my mayd hope may bee with her, and then I belieue shee shall haue two tolerable seruants. My head is not well, nor any part at present for I cannot get sleepe. I would you should send mee word what you will doe therin, but rather come ouer. Oh how my hart is with you. You doe not know how much I need frends and helpe.

Tell my dear frend your sister Symonds that I am as low as euer, & wish I knew how to see her. Thus in much hast & perplexity I take leaue & am Yours euer

Salem vlt. Sept: Hu: Peter.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our noble Gouernour, these present, in Boston.

Hon. Sir, — I vnderstand by Mr. Pierse that Mr. Bellingham is very, very greedy for more mony, who hath already taken more then hee can answer: wherefore my

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* Mrs. Margaret Lake. She was a daughter of Edmand Reade, of Wickford, Essex County; and sister of Elizabeth, the second wife of John Winthrop, Jr. Her husband's name was John Lake. — *Copy of Edmand Reade's Will, in MS., dated* 20 *Nov.* 1623. — Eds.

humble request is that you would bee pleased to suffer none at all to touch it, synce the mony is properly myne, and at the Court wee hope to bee all there. Mr. Pierse hath also promised to vndertake for all the owners there, and I for those here, being iust halfe in eyther place, and so to issue all.

I am bold besides to intreat you to let your seruant by your order to take all Mr. Lapthornes goods into your hands, that were at the ordinary, his trunke and other things are at your house already, and to pay 3*l* to the Master for passage, and what the ordinary demaunds, and to keepe all his goods safe because hee wholy belonged to mee, and my brother who sent the man ouer to mee vpon my letter will expect my faithfulnes. Thus making euer bold with you I rest

Yours in all due respects & vtmost service

Hu: Peter.

Salem 25. 8.

I pray salute your *animæ dimidium* & my noble Aunt. (?) I pray intreat her or some body to buy mee 5 or 6 dozen of candles vpon any termes.

HUGH PETER TO PATRICK COPELAND.

To my Worthy & reuerend brother, Mr. Copeland, preacher of the Gospell, in Bermuda.

Good Brother, — By these you may vnderstand, that wee doe not a little reioyce at any intercourse betwixt your selfe & vs. These bearers I pray bid welcome to you as any of yours should bee to vs. The Master is an honest godly man of our church, and such as you will haue much ioy in, wee hope: and I pray helpe vs by prayers what you can. These can informe you of the state of things with vs, and how it is in England & Scotland, even sad enough.

Wee haue a printery here* and thinke to goe to worke with some speciall things, and if you have any thing you may send it safely by these. Our churches flourish, & the more by some late familisticall errors intruded by Satan: and truly troubles wee must look for on all hands, but wee know whom wee haue trusted. The God of all peace bee with you and all your worke for him. Our plantations doe reach a great way South and East, and I am perswaded will looke into the West Indyes, of which I would haue your opinion. Good Sir bee earnest with the Lord for vs that wee may bee to his praise in Jesus Christ — amen.

Yours euer HUGH PETER.

SALEM 10. 10ber 1638.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our noble Governor These dlr. at Boston.

DEEREST SIR, — I humbly thanke you that you would please to mynd me for my sheepe.

ffor this bearer, Walter Baker, hee hath demeaned himselfe very fayrly with vs, & our Elder who was to hyre him finds not the least fault with him, but that hee was to imploy him vpon the water in a canow, which he likes not of. I like the man very well, & you shall meet with many that will be farre worse. I can safely commend him so farre as I can heare or discerne.

I shall be bold to communicate diuers things to you about the court, before the court, (God willing); ffor pre-

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* Under date of March, 1638–9, Winthrop writes: "A printing-house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye [Stephen], at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freemen's oath; the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr. William Peirce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre." The "Book of Psalmes" was "imprinted" in 1640. One or two copies are in the New-England Library, in possession of the Old South Church in Boston. — EDS.

sent I cease to bee further bold, & with my truest affection & due respect to yourselfe & all yours. I rest

Yours in all duty Hu. Peter.

Salem 25 of 8.

I craue this bearers helpe about the shipping my ram. Your son & little (*sic*) are well gone yesterday to Ips:

Mr. Cotton etc. wee see not.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Noble Gouernor in Boston.

Hon: Sir, — I much thanke you for yours, and together am sorry for the sicknes of our frends. I am still troublesome to you. I haue sent Mrs. D. Sh.* letter, which puts mee to new troubles, for though shee takes liberty vpon my Cossen Downing's speeches, yet (Good Sir) let mee not bee a foole in Israel. I had many good answers to yesterday's worke and amongst the rest her letter; which (if her owne) doth argue more wisedome, then I thought shee had. You haue often sayd I could not leaue her; what to doe is very considerable. Could I with comfort & credit desist, this seemes best; could I goe on, and content my selfe, that were good: my request is that this bearer my harts-halfe may well obserue what is best. For though I now seeme free agayne, yet the depth I know not. Had shee come ouer with mee I thinke I had bin quieter. This shee may know, that I haue sought God earnestly, that the next weeke, I shall bee riper: —

I doubt shee gaynes most by such writings: and shee deserues most where shee is further of. My very hart is with you, & I am

Yours euer, H: Peter.

* Probably Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield, who soon afterwards became his second wife. — Eds.

If you shall amongst you aduise mee to write to hir, I shall forthwith, our towne lookes vpon me contracted and so I haue sayd my selfe, what wonder the charge would make I know not.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our Noble Gouernour, These present, Boston.

Honored Sir, — Synce my last I haue nothing to certifye you but what fell out the last day of the last weeke in our congregation at a church-meeting, where Mr. Holgraue denying some thing that was cleere to the congregation, (hee being then dealt with,) was suddenly struck by Gods hand with the losse of his memory and such fumbling in his speech that wee were forced to send him forth, and at his house hee talked very idly, slept, and is still weake but recouering: it did sadly affect vs all. The Lord helpe vs to make vse of it to his praise.

I pray salute all our deerly beloued with you, & bee pleased to tell this story to honest Mr. Wilson whom I salute in the Lord.

My wife* desires my daughter to send to Hanna that was her mayd, now at Charltowne, to know if shee would dwell with vs, for truly wee are so destitute (hauing now but an Indian) that wee know not what to doe. Thus with my deerest respects, I am Yours as you know, in all duty.

Hu: Peter.

Salem 4° Sept.

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* Peter's first wife probably did not accompany him to this country. She appears to have been living in the early part of the year 1637; as per Downing's letter, *ante*, p. 45. Peter, in 1639, had married a second wife, who was the mother of his "only child," to whom, in 1660, he addressed "A Dying Father's Last Legacy." — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Honored Sir, — My sudden and humble request vnto you is that you would bee pleased to accompany the deputy in putting your hand and seale to the Testimony will bee presented vnto you for Mr. Humfrey, now bound for England with his sonne only with him, and a very quiet contented mynd, purposing to returne in the Spring, hauing left his family and estate in Godly mens hands. I pray, Sir, fayle not herin. I meane the Country's Seale to it. At next meeting I shall giue you better satisfaction about himselfe and his departure. Thus with my humble respects and hartyest loue I leaue you thus hastily saluted & am Yours in all duty Hugh Peter.

Salem vlt: Sept:*

Your rundlet comes by the next.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our noble Gouernor These dd. Boston.

Sir, — I humbly thanke you for your tender care of vs to let vs to vnderstand how the Lord hath honored himselfe vpon these heathen. I am afrayd that these women & children are not where they should bee, nor can I foresee euents.

ffor this woman that troubles you thus: indeed shee should haue any thing from mee were fit, but shee hath already bin very chargeable, & in conscience I cannot answer her desire. Shee hath 4 spoones, six slighter I sold

* If we interpret the date of this letter to be the "last of September," it cannot refer to Humfrey's voyage to England in October, 1641, which is recorded by Winthrop; as Peter had sailed for England the August previous. Does this refer to another visit by Humfrey to England, or to a contemplated voyage never made? — Eds.

Mr. Endecot which are euen broken with thinnes; & for lynnen, it is most disposed of; but I haue striuen to giue her satisfaction by a letter to Mrs. Wilson. I desire my cossin Stephen should pay her passage, & 4*l* out of my beuer; and that shee may haue all conuenient content; I think a few words of your selfe would doe it.

I was at Ipswich where the towne haue dealt very nobly with your son, & giuen him another farme neere the towne called Castle-hill,* where hee hath 100 akers of medow, & all intire to himselfe: but of this hee hath written to you. I intend to bee with you on Monday. Still remembring you all to him in whom I am,

Yours if any thing. H: Peter.

Salem 5 day.

Mr. Endecot & Ancient Reade wonder at your bounty in your graynes sent, etc.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To our Noble Gouernour these present at Boston.

Right deere & Honorable, — I haue receiued yours, and this bearer Mr. Knolls† coming to mee from Pascataway, and wholly depending vpon your selfe and mee for some directions in his matters, I would in his behalfe desire your wonted carefull tendernes to which wee are inuited by all the 3 parables in Luke 15. and heathens teach some thing when they say *Cæsar dando*, *sublevando*, *ignoscendo*, etc.

I shall bee ready to attend your mynd for my coming over about it at any tyme, and I suppose it were not amisse I should bee there when hee speakes with the

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* "1639, Feb. 11, he" (John Winthrop, Jr.) "is granted Castle Hill, and all the meadow and marsh within the creek, if he lives in Ipswich." — *Felt's Ipswich*, p. 73. — Eds.

† Hansard Knollys. — See Winthrop's History of New England, i. 326. — Eds.

ministers, vnles hee be referd to vs this way, which I should thinke farre better for the man. But the busines will bee to satisfye the State, which how it will bee before a Generall Court I cannot tell. I think dispatch will bee comfortable for him. Captayn Vnderhill intends likewise to come. I need not cast my drop into your Ocean, who knowe how to deale in these matters, only I tender the man etc.

I still beare my share with you, though truly I am burdend in my spirit with your acknowledgments of I know not what to call it.

Wee are iust now about meeting Mr. Hubbard and 3 more of Ipswich to sell your sons Castle hill* to them, but you would wonder to see their dodging. If they haue it they must pay for it in some measure, else it were more honorable for him to giue it.

Good Sir bee cheerfull in the Lord, the whole world shall change, but our God neuer: in whom I am

Yours or no HU: PETER.

SALEM 6° Sept.

I pray exceedingly salute our worthy Sister etc.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

SALEM 6° Septi.

HONORED AND DEEREST IN THE LORD, — Wee receiued your basket of bounty and loue to those who must dye in your debt, but leaue requitall of all to him who must discharge our greatest skores. I had both written, and seen you before now, but that deepe melancholy is getting fast vpon mee agayne, and tethers mee at home, and much

* This sale would seem not to have been effected at this time; for it appears from Felt's Ipswich, p. 73, that in 1645, Jan. 1, "he" (John Winthrop, Jr.) "conveys his farm, called Castle Hill, to his brother-in-law, Samuel Symonds." — EDS.

occasioned by my brethren ingaged before this time to come in with the discharge of your matters, but they try my patience in waiting. I hope not to bee long from you, & the rather to aduise for Mr. John Winthrop going with Mr. Bois, to which I wholly inclyne: it will bee vsefull and exemplary. One mayne occasion of my writing at this tyme is in behalfe of Mr. Paddy, this bearer, who earnestly desires some course may bee taken for what is due from the Country to his father Freeman for his Armes they had in the Pekot seruice, for which hee might haue had 40*l*, and now desires but 15*l* of the Country, to bee payd as they please for species. Good Sir, let him haue reliefe by what meanes you can, synce you know the case and this present Governour doth not.*

I thinke I shall neuer leaue to bee troublesome vnto you; pitty and pardon, & salute your dearest, with all yours. Our Strong and mighty Helper, the God of Israel keepe vp your hart, & spirit, sweeten all your sowres, euen all your pathes and carry you through all difficultyes, through Jesus Christ, In whom I am

Yours fidelissime H: Peter.

I take it Captayn Gibbons can tell best of these arms.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the Worshipfull John Winthrop, Esq. Ipswich.

Deere Sir, — Wee are glad to heare of you, & my wife intends to bee with you per first.

Your sister Symonds is deliuered last weeke of a dead child, and is in much weakness, it came by a fall, let your wife looke to herselfe. John Baker will tell you abundance of newes from the bay. ffor Ipswich it will neuer

* This was in 1640, when Dudley was Governor. — Eds.

bee well till the Church goe on, aduise them to that if you meane to save them. Wee are in good order here, blessed bee the Lord. Continue your affection to him who is Yours or nothing H: Peter.

Salem 2d day.

I must earnestly intreat you to giue Mr. Broadstreet 40*l* in corne for me, or mony, it is for one goodman Tompson of your towne. I will make the mony good here, or any where. Salute your Betty & little Betty* from vs all.

I haue sent you the booke of the proceedings at the Court, which when it is coppyed out for your towne I must haue agayne.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my honored brother John Winthrop se: Esq. these present, in Boston.

Honored Sir, — These are to accompany Mr. Knollis. What aduise I gaue at my being there Mr. Wilson can informe you, whose letter I would desire you to reade, I being to giue an account to them that sent mee. Now my earnest request is that this bearer and 3 or 4 more of his frends may haue the liberty of sitting downe in our Jurisdiction, hee may [be] vsefull without doubt, hee is well gifted, you may doe well to heare him at Boston.

They there are ripe for our Gouernment as will appeare by the note I haue sent you. They grone for Gouernment and Gospell all ouer that side on the Country. I conceiue that 2 or 3 fit men sent ouer may doe much good at this confluxe of things. These will relate how all stands in these parts. Alas poore bleeding soules!

* Winthrop's wife and child, both named Elizabeth, are here referred to: the latter was baptized in July, 1636. — Eds.

I haue desired Mr. Endecot to write to your gouernour. I thinke this worke falls naturally vnder the care of the Counsell. If Mr. Larkam say and hold, hee hath promised mee to close with vs, but *malé audio*. What are men?

I haue a neere Cossen, with him, a Justice of Peace's daughter with him very hopefull, and as handsome as any in the Country, 200*l* for present & hopes to haue 100*l* more; I wish your sons any would take her and it. I am now seeking out a husband for her, but wish yours farre better euery way. Shee is lately by her frends my kindred commended to my care: I am sometymes thinking of Thom: Reade, though I haue my feares; if you please you may write me a word. Thus with my hartyest and humble salutes I rest yours, as your loue hath made me. H: Peter.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull John Winthrop Esqr this present. Boston.

Deerest Sir, — I should not haue needed your last as a spurre to mee to write, had not my thoughts about yourselfe bin so succesles that I lost all courage that way, and am also at present fallen into a sore fit of my old hypocondriacal melancholy, through cold and care. My hartyest desires are for you and yours, and I could wish I knew what to doe to compas my purpose.

What my aduenture was at Pascataway I suppose Mr. Larkham hath told you, and if death preuent not, I shall my selfe shortly. In the meane tyme remember mee where you may doe mee the most good, & I shall striue to retaliate.

The last newes sayes the Convocation made 17 new

Canons, wherof one is that all ministers shall preach 2ce per annum for conformity, & 4 tymes for the King's prerogative; what past betwixt Mr. Williams at Pascataway and my selfe I shall tell you. The Lord bee with your spirits. Yours euer & euer

Hu: Peter.

Salem vlt. Sept.*

De nuptiis, nihil habeo præter ætatem quod displicet, videntur satis optandæ.

Salute the good gentlewoman: & all with you.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor Mr. John Winthrop, at Boston.

Honest Hart, — I must needs Salute you though but in 2 or 3 words, desiring you to assure all that world that I am coming to you & haue sent my wife before, for diverse reasons. Dr. Child is come, that honest man who will bee of exceeding great vse if the Country know how to improue him, indeed he is very, very vsefull, I pray let vs not play tricks with such men by our ielousyes.

I shall at my coming let you know I loue you & your good wife. Salute her, Mr. Symonds & his, with all friends, as if I named them all, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson & all Boston frends, all the elders & others whom you please. I am Yours euer & euer

Hu: Peter.

Deale (?) 23 of June 45.

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* Probably 1640. For further information on the subject of this letter, see Winthrop's History of New England, ii. 28, 29 (year 1641). The events recorded are before Aug. 3, 1641, when Peter sailed for England. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For Mr. John Winthrop the younger, dlr.

[*One line destroyed.*]

salute thee hartily, and doe profes I know not what to doe for you, for truly I feare you want, as men of that quality. The Lord doe good vnto you, and that is all I can say. Wee haue here done & yet vndone. None will come to you because you persecute. Cannot you mend it? Your brother Stephen* will bee Captayn of a Troope of horse with vs. I am coming ouer if I must, my wife comes of necessity to New England hauing run her selfe out of breath here: you know all, the Lord teach me what to doe. Wee are very hot vpon the West Indyes, and are likely to doe something: you must take one. I wish your father here in the house. Rainborow† is Major Generall for Ireland. Send my brother to his wife & family. I loue you & leaue you & am Yours as you know

Salute your good wife. Hu: Peter.

Gravesend 4 of 7ber.‡

Bee sure you neuer let my wife come away from thence without my leaue, & then you loue me.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor Mr. John Winthrop the elder my honorable frend, in Boston.

Deere Brother, — My coming was resolued vpon by this ship, but the Lord hath put in two impediments, the one is my want of health which is much impayrd, and 2ly my land given by the parliament is but euen now

* Stephen Winthrop went to England in 1645, and did not return. — Eds.

† Rainsborough was assassinated Oct. 29, 1648. Stephen Winthrop's wife (Judith Rainsborough) was of the same family; probably his sister. — Eds.

‡ 1646. — See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., ii. 351. — Eds.

turning into mony. It is worth 211*l* per annum and I am putting it of. By the next ship I intend to come, if God giue any measure of strength, and your son Stephen stayes with me to that end. I desire his wife nor frends may not take it ill, for indeed he stayd not but vrged. For my selfe I intend New England shall share in my comforts and wish men tender in forsaking it, I am sure my spirit these 2 or 3 yeers hath bin restles about my stay here, and nothing vnder heauen but the especiall hand of the Lord could stay mee; I pray assure all the Country so, for I must write vnto your selfe now instead of many, being surprizd as I am hauing a full purpose to come in this ship really: my bookes you may tell the elders I shall bring with mee and it may be some thing else, but truly doe find things goe not well in my absence, and therfore would bee glad to see what I haue disposed of by my selfe. thus I Quære

1. Why Mr. Payne of Ipswich should have 120 and od pounds from my goods when neuer more then 60*l* were here demaunded?

2. Why concluded without a word from mee, or any on this side the water for mee?

3. Why my goods sold at halfe the value to pay him, which they cost here?

4. Why my wife should dispose of any thing of my goods without your order, or the deacons, etc?

5. Why Rob: Saltonstall should trouble Shirt* of the noate and others for 100*l* his father owed mee for bread for his family, and made mee be two yeers getting of my due, which his son it seemes would haue payd back agayne, the attempt being monstrous thus to thinke to cheat his fathers frends.

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* Abraham Shurt, the conveyancer; several of whose letters will be found among the miscellaneous letters in this collection, and to whose memory the late Mr. N. I. Bowditch dedicated his Suffolk Surnames. For the action of the General Court in this case, see Mass. Colonial Records, vol. ii. pp. 168, 231. — Eds.

6. Why I should pay so much mony for the Country viz: 200*l* and neuer considered of? as Mr. Poccok sadly complayns, and why Sherly should not haue his 110*l* onn agreament, vizt to relinquish the busines of Plymouth?*

These things I leave to your wisedome, and desire you to salute all magistrates and ministers as if I named them all most hartily, whom I meane to see if I liue shortly.

I pray (Sir) haue an eye to my wife, if shee will come hither I hynder not, but I thought shee might bee better there. ffor things here, I have often written it vnto you that England will haue v[er]y much worke to stand, all manner of confusio[n co]ming vpon it.

Ah sweet New England! & yet sweeter if diuisions bee not among you, if you will giue any incouragement to those that are godly & shall differ etc. I pray doe what you can herin, & know that your example in all kinds swayse here. Appeales will hardly bee ouerthrowne nor doe I mynd it much as a thing you should bee troubled about. The Good Lord direct vs all to his praise, in whom I am Yours euer Hu: Peter.

May 5, 47.

Salute my deere sister, all your children, all frends most hartily.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor Mr. John Wynthrop iunr. at Pequoit.

My deere Hart,—how desirous am I to come vnto you, and how vnwilling to stay from you, and indeed nothing but this sad euill now befallen mee could haue stayd mee, viz. my old distemper springing from many, many surfets, oh that I were with you, and your good wife my deere

* See an order for the settlement of these claims, in Mass. Colonial Records, vol. ii. p. 262. — Eds.

daughter,* whom I pray salute from me hartily, if I come I bring you & them a good remembrance, if I dye, I forget you not, only take notice I loue you as myne owne soule, and haue had thoughts, if thither I come, to spend some tyme with you more than ordinary. Call your plantation† London derry or what you please, it will giue no offence here, and bee assured New England is a good country to bee in, if you can bee quiet among yourselues. Excuse my hast by this ship. My Cossen Stephen will bee honest. Cos. Downing is in a tosse indeed, brother Weld perplexd about coming to you. Live to Gods praise there, & you need not be troubled. Thus with my deerest respects I remayn Yours for euer, H: Peter.

London 15 of March.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor John Winthrop Jun Esqr. with a [t]oken in paper.

Deere Sir, — I feare you are angry because you doe not heare from mee, nor I from you. I haue by Mr. Gott orderd you what I haue in New England [*a line effaced*] word I euer loued you and yours, and am truly sensible of all your cares. Nothing vnder heauen hath more troubled mee then that you had not my company into New England with you. I haue sent you by this bearer a loade stone which I pray keepe for mee if I come, if not it is yours. Oh that I were [*a line effaced*] my old malady of the spleene, & neuer had hart or tyme to attend any cure, that now I giue my life gone: & shall out liue my parts I feare. My hart is with my God & desire after him in whom I am Yours euer Hu: Peter.

30 of April 49.

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* Daughter-in-law. — Eds.

† Doubtless New London; where, Feb. 22, 1648–49, "the inhabitants did consent and desire that the plantation may be called London." — *Caulkins's History of New London*, p. 59. — Eds.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor my hon: frend John Winthrop iu: Esqr at Pequoit River or elsewhere.

My deere Hart,—I salute you hartily, and yours as hartily with all yours & myne. I pray you to take speciall notice, with Mr. Got,* of what I haue at Salem; as also 100*l* Mr. Downing's house is bound to me for, as also 20*l* Mr. Endecot hovse, with all my other matters. My intention is you & yours should bee the better for it, as I have signifyed formerly. Let Mr. Gott take the income of all, & bee accountable, my child hauing another portion, which I may yet doubt, I must mynd your family, whom I pray salute in the Lord. All things here goe well. Wee are begging all England ouer for N. E. Wee hope it may come to some thing. One of our Colonnells hath begun 100*l* or 10*l* per annum etc. Oh that I euer left New E; or had neuer had this wife† so sent to me! Oh deere Sir! my dayes are gone: and I looke to my end apace. The Lord bee with you & Your Hu: Peter.

17 of the 5 mon. 49.

Entertayne honest Sister Bowdech & her husband if shee come to you.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor John Winthrop Esqr. at Boston or elsewhere, New England.

Deere Sir,—Yours I had, and am sorry I am not furnished according to your desire as yet, & through many bodily infirmityes am now much succumbing. My iudgment is, you should come hither where you might many wayes

* Charles Gott was deacon of the church at Salem. — Eds.

† Peter's second wife, Deliverance Sheffield, became "distracted." — Eds.

liue comfortably. Your brother Stephen liues, & very well, hee & I both concurre in your coming if [*torn*] not, you will haue some part out of my pittance. There to doe you good, [*torn*] I shall not bee wanting vpon my first ability.

Things here goe exceeding well with vs, & euery day grow better: my hast is great but my distemper greater. Let your wife, sister Lake, & all with you haue my salutes, had I a little ease I should prouide some tokens, but am dumfounded yet loue you & am

Yours, H. Peter.

21. 2. 52.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor John Winthrop Esqr in New England.

Deere Sir, — I salute you most hartily with all yours, your Sister Symonds & Lake, with all the rest of ours. I haue writ largely to Mr. Endecot concerning yourselfe, but my counsell is you should come hither with your family for certaynly you will bee capable of a comfortable liuing in this free Comonwealth. I doe seriously aduise it: & you shall haue more by the next if you bee not come away. G. Downing is worth 500*l* per annum but 4*l* per diem — your brother Stephen worth 2000*l* & a maior. I pray come.

I am yours euer, H. Peter.

10. 8. 52.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my hon frind John Winthrop, Esq. in New England.

Whitehall 10. 4. 54.

My worthy Frend, — I heard from you and your wife also this last yeere, and if I delighted in writing long you would haue some, but you know I doe not, and the many

vnkindneses I had from New England hath much deadend me in these things, rather contenting myselfe with what I can doe here, then further to bee troublesome to them. They owe me much mony, which I would freely giue to your wife & children if they would pay it. Wee have still turnings here. John Lake is aliue and lusty. Your brother Reade the like etc. For your wife's demand of 100*l*. I shall not be idle therein. My charge is here so great & my experience that I can doe little for my frends, being opprest with myne owne & my brothers & sisters necessity, yet I haue sent you a small token. I haue often wisht you here, but synce the Gouernment grewe to such vncertaynty I was doubtfull, & am, & doe yet thinke you are well, though Bushell is very earnest to haue you turn about his mynes of Siluer. Pray let vs know what & how you doe. Mr. Got writes of the sale of my house, Mr. Downing is not honest, owes mee 100*l* for which his howse is bound to mee. These are not good dealings. Mr. Endecot owes mee mony, payes none. I payd 20*l* in gold to Mr. Saltonstall also for him, but hardly acknowledged: that also I wish you had, with some of it for your sister Lake, but my hast must bee excused.

I am Yours euer, H. Peter.

Salute your wife, children, sister Lake, &c.

HUGH PETER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor my honored friend John Winthrop, Esqr.

3*d*. 1. 54.

My deere Frend, — I haue had a great longing for you here, but truly things are vpon such great vncertayntye & changes, that I wish you & all frends to stay there & rather looke to the West Indyes, if they remoue, for many

are here to seeke when they come over. I haue sent you 2 peeces of black stuffe, a peece of searge, & a parcell of fyne lynnen, Mr. Stephen Winthrop, now Colonel, hath sent you a peece of course cloth, all by the hand of Mr. Norton of Boston, in a great chest of bookes sent agayne by Sir Kenelme Digby, who longs for you here. I haue little else. Your vncle Downing is at your brother, no preferment yet, nor debts payd. Wee feare wee shall breake with France. Salute all with you most hartily. I wonder they would sell my house at Salem to Mr. Endecot for 20*l*, wheras by my letters I gaue it you & all I had there, in trust for my daughter* if shee came ouer, & if not to you & yours, & that is my meaning, & pray you to looke to it, for Mr. Endecot hath not payd me a penny, owing mee much more.

I am yours, H: Peter.

I wish you had not medled with the French. Here is 900*l* per annum for the Indians, I wish it were imployed for the English poore there. I wish you all good. Pray looke to my affayres at Salem & speake with Mr. Got.

HUGH PETER TO CHARLES GOTT.

ffor my good frend Mr. Gotte deacon at Salem now at Wenham.

3. 1. 54.

My deere Frend, — I had yours, and truly doe loue you hartily, though I haue bin some tymes troubled at my busines having no returnes, & you selling my house for 20*l*, & lending out my bookes & things & sending home nothing to mee, but only what Spencer sent a note of a colt & three sheepe etc. though I am no way angry

* His only daughter, Elizabeth, by his second wife, and to whom he addressed "A Dying Father's Last Legacy." — Eds.

with you, for I loue you hartily, but great payments haue gone forth, you write, & truly I know no debts but such as Mr. Payne made vpon mee.

My mynd is that Mr. John Winthrop might bee spoke with about what I haue, to whom I assigned it long synce, vpon some conditions, though: I profes nothing but want of health (I thinke) could detayne me from New England: such is my loue to the place, & louely it will yet bee. I pray doe but for mee, as I would doe for you. Mr. Downing owd me 180*l*, no body would seise the horse hee made ouer to mee, & now hee is here. with him to make hast after him. Salute your good wife, pay yourselfe for what charge I put you to, & loue

Yours, Hu: Peter.

LETTERS OF MATTHEW CRADOCK.*

MATTHEW CRADOCK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my Honored and worthei freynd the worshipfull John Winthrop the elder Esqr. Boston in Newe England. Per the George, Mr. Ino. Seuerne whome God preserue.

Honored and my worthei Freynd, — With tender of my best seruice I harteley commend me to you. I haue received your letter of the 25 June by the Ship Falcon, by which, as also by letter from Jno Jolliff I take good nottice of your loue to me and reddyness to furder me in my occasyons there for which I yeeld you most hartye thankes and dessyre the contynuance thereof as occasyon shall bee. Were my discovragments but of small consequence I should bee verry loathe to bee troblesome. Errors I know I haue comitted, maney and great, by reposing trust in maney not worthey to bee trusted. Theise errors I must suffer for, and ame willing to beare, but would bee loath to haue that which is bad to bee made worsse, and affliction added to affliction. Truley I will yeet hope Mr. Mayhewe will geeue mee that satisfaction in all which may geeue resonable satisfaction to mee, & in so doinge I ame confy-

* Matthew Cradock was the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company, and a generous contributor to its support. He was a wealthy London merchant; and is said to have been, at one time, a member of Parliament. He never came over to New England, but had an agent and servants here to attend to his interest. He had a house at Mistick (Medford), which is still standing, one at Marblehead, and another at Ipswich; and employed fishermen at each of these places. At his death he left a claim upon the Colony, which, in 1648, amounted to £679. 6*s.* 4*d.* George Cradock, Esq., a gentleman employed in public posts in the Province in the last century, was a descendant. — *See Young's Chronicles of Mass.*, 137, 138; *Hutchinson's Mass.*, i. 18. — Eds.

dent he will doe himselffe a great deale of right. It were to much for me to relate all passages vnto you and loth I ame to be therein offensyue to you with longe discourses, but if it bee so that my seruant Jno. Jolliffe doe not recieyue satisfaction to content lett me crave that favour of you as to read ouer my letters wrote Mr. Mayhewe which I sent him by Jno. Jolliffe & which I nowe send him by this convayance. I must confesse in regard of the length of them it is to much troble I putt you vnto, and yeet without hearing them read you can not, my selffe beeing absent, vnderstand wherein I fynd my selffe agreyued or whether that I propound & desyre to haue done be resonable or not, and I shall not desyre in ought to bee my owne Judge. And because I would bee the less troblesome to you seeing Mr. Peirse had a great hand at his last beeing in England, in my sending ouer so great an estate thether as I ded last yeere & was not wanting to haue had me sent as much this yeere. I wish that he also who is an intymate Well-willer to Mr. Mayhewe may seey what I propound & wherein I fynd my selffe agreyued, And as I cane haue no other accounts but by calculacion, that the same may bee done with Judgment & vnderstanding and with your approbacion and then I shall leaue you to judge howe I haue thryuen and doe at present thryue in Newe England, onely bee pleased, I pray you, if occasion so requyre, to order Jno Jolliff [wi]th Mr. Pearse to take some paynes to goe to the depth of my buiseyness, and what can not appeare by accounts, that to estymat so as may be equall & indifferent boeth for income & expence, & where ought shall appeare difficult that you would bee pleased to geeue them your aduize for the better cleering of it, & [with]all to cast your eye vppon the chardges shalbee layd vppon me by Estymate that the same doe not exceede, whereby my loss should bee made heauier then r[ea]lly it is, or ought to bee. Had I receued that Correspondence from N. E. which I might justley haue

expected in the course of my dealing thether, the publique had beene partaker thereof ere this more s[en]sybley, but I haue not beene so happey. Yeet what shall I say, Mr. Mayhewe is approued of all, and I desyre [he] may still contyneue so, & I [sh]albee harteley glad thereof as realley wishing his good and welffare, but so as my welfare also may subsist with his. I knowe noe liberty he hath to trade in ought ffor himselfe, but the cleane contrary, by our Covenants which my servant Jolliff cane shewe you and they exspire not till about June next. The reading of these 2 letters affore-mencioned will shewe you more then I can heere express, and when your selffe shall haue heard and seeyne all, I ame perswaded you can not propound that ffor me to doe which I shall not bee reddy to yeeld vnto, ffor yf Mr. Mayhewe doe realley approoue his Integrity I shall desyre to contyneue him in my Imployment according to his owne offer by his Letters receiued by this shippe, and as I knowe him abell for my buiseynes so I ame perswaded when euer wee parte he will not eseley fynd one so willing to doe him good as I haue beene, and ame. I doe once more intreate your love, ffurderance and advize in this buiseynes of myne which doeth much concerne me to haue my affayres there setteled in some good way, and so as I may boeth cleereley seey what is become of my estate I haue or should haue there; as also howe for the tyme to come I may haue an equall and ffayre carriadg of my buiseynes. I ame harteley glad to heare of the good approbacion of our newe Gouvernour there, Mr. Vane. The sicknes* heere weekeley increasing wee haue noe relacion nowe to the Court, beeing in this respect as banished men from thence, so as I make questyon whether it bee knowen there as yeet, howeuer I trust God will raise vp freyndes & meanes to furder & aduanse his owne worke; yea wee may bee confident

* The plague, which prevailed in London in 1636, and of which 10,400 persons died in that year. — Eds.

thereof, he will neuer forsake vs if wee forsake not him, and if God be with vs wee neyde not feare who is against vs. I will heere conclude with harty commendations from me & myne to your selffe & yours, & will rest euer in owght I may

Your assured louing ffreynde to bee Commaunded

MATHEWE CRADOCK.

LONDON, 13 Septemb. 1636.

[SIR, — I haue a purpose to apply my selfe to tylledge & incresing my stock of Cattell, and hauing had recourse to a plase caled Shawe Shynn* where I heare none comes but my selffe, I desyre your ffauour when the Court shalbee moued in my behalfe, that I may haue 2000 Acres there allotted to me where I shall ffynd it most convenyent ffor mee. I know the orders made heere in Court allowe me maney thousand acres more then euer I intend to demand or looke after. This my suite I hope will geeue offence to none, & when I shall putt vp a tenement & a dame as I haue heerewith geeuen order thereabout, I hope in a short tyme others will ffollowe, if once a good mynister bee plased there, and I ame perswaded the more English Corne is cherished, the better it wilbee for the whole Plantacion. I once more take my leaue & Rest

Yours MATHEWE CRADOCK.]

[The postscript which is included in brackets is cancelled in the original, as explained by the writer in the next paragraph.]

SIR, — I lyke my Implyments so well there as I desyre to troble my selffe less then I haue done, which hath made mee [to] cross out this postscript, I not intending to haue it mooued. God send me some meanes to dispose of that I haue, that somewhat may come of it, towards my exceeding great charge I haue beene & am at, my taxes in pub-

* Now Billerica. — EDS.

lique beeing to be great maney wayes, considering howe my buseynes are there carryed by Mr. Mayhewe. I send you herewith a letter date the 13 January, which I thought to haue sent away then, but missed of convayance. that written in the margent [was] by mistake & should haue bene written in Jno. Jolliffs letter. That you maye judge of Mr. Mayhewes dealings by me I send herewith to Jno. Jolliffe my chardge on him for what hath come meereley to his hands whereby he is debtor to me besyds the [in]crease of my Cattell & improuement of my grounds & proffitt by the labors of seruants which if sett against there chargs & other losses, yeet I should haue there aboue 1150[0]*l.* if I be well dealt with, & whereas accordingley I gave order to haue moneyes remitted home to mee in steede thereof I ame charged by Tho: Mayhewe without the knowledge of Jno. Jolliffe with great somes, whereas my expresse order was he should doe nothing in my buiseynes without Jno Jolliff's consent. I must abrupt[ly] breake of, but doe pray you with your best aduize to ffurder me in aught that may tend ffor my saffetey, by Mr. Pierse I hope to inlardg, hauing caused this letter to be returned me from Plymouth, whether I nowe send it to be sent you by the George, Mr. Jno. Seuerne. Thus with my best Respects I rest

Your Worships to be commaunded

MATHEWE CRADOCK.

LONDON 21 February, 1636.

MATTHEW CRADOCK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

WORTHEI SIR,—The greyffe I haue beene putt to by the most vyle bad dealinge of Thomas Mayhew hath & doeth so much disquiet my mynd, as I thanke God neuer aney thing ded in the lyke manner. The Lord in mercy ffreey

me from this, I absolutely fforbad chardging moneys from thence or buying aney goods there. I thanke God my occasions requyred it not but I haue had great returnes made mee from thence by meanes of goods I sent thither by the direction of Thomas Mayhewe ffor aboue 5000*l* in the last 2 yeeres & geeuing to much credditt to his insynnuating practises & the good opynion I by the reports & aduize of maney & more especialley of your selfe, ded apprehend of him, but ffarr beyond all expectacion & contrary to my express order he hath charged me with dyuers somes & geeven bills in my name which he neuer had order from me to doe, & that not for small somes, whereof some partyculers are specefyed in the inclosed which I pray you deliuer my servant Jno. Jolliff; & good Sir lett me intreate your selfe & those in authority there to take some course that Thomas Mayhew may be answerable ffor that estate of myne which my sayd seruant can showe you hath come to his hands. This conveyance is vncerten & therfore I shalbee breiffer then I would or my necessety requyres but by Mr. Peirse, God willing, I shall Inlardge, but I knowe you may by this seey & apprehend my case. Bills come dayley almost presented to me of one kynd or other without aney aduize, but from Jno. Jolliffs aryvall he ought not to haue done any thing in my buiseynes without his approbacion & consent, but when it shall appeare howe he hath dealt by me, you & all men that shall seey it I ame perswaded will hardley thinke it could be possible that a man pretending sincerity in his actions could deale so viley as he hath & doeth deale by me. This buiseynes is not to be delayed, if he can justefy his actions it were to bee wished but not possible, Lett me craue your fauour & the Courts so ffarr as you shall seey my cause honest & just, & boeth the Court & your selfe & the whole plantacion shall euer oblige me to be

Yours euer to my power MATHEWE CRADOCK.

LONDON 13 January 1636.

Jno. Jollife, — ffayle not to send the shipp Rebecka Victualled for three monthes to Virginea to Mr. Thomas Steggs, with some commoditty such as you shall vnderstand to be there most vendable ffor vallewe of 120*l.* or 150*l* at most. You may Rate all 20 per cent more then what ech cost per Inuoice sent from hence. Leaue the Shipp wholey to Mr. Tho: Steggs disposing & if he send ought back in her to you & Rich: Hoare (for so is our aduize) ffollowe his order therewith & with the shipp as neere as you cane. I wish Mr. Jno. Hodges to resvme command and goe Master in her & that he obserue Mr. Steggs order in her further ymplyment. Shee is to bee victualled for three monthes & to haue all her ordynance belonging to her with other necessaries whereof what all is I desyre an Inuentory may be sent me and the Masters hand to it. Yours

Mathewe Cradock.

Jno. Jolliff writes mee the manner of Mr. Mayheues accounts is, that what is not sett downe is spent: most extremeley I ame abused. My seruants write they drinke nothing but water & I haue in an account lateley sent me Red Wyne, Sack & aqua vitæ in one yeere aboue 300 gallons, besids many other to intollerable abuses, 10*l* for tobacco, etc. My papers are misselayd, but if you call for the coppyes of the accounts sent me & examine vppon what ground it is made, you shall fynd I doubt all but forged stuffe. By Mr. Pierse I shall, God willing, inlardge, meane while I euer rest in ought I may

Your worships at Commaund

Mathewe Cradock.

London 21 Febr. 1636.

MATTHEW CRADOCK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my honored and much respected freind John Winthrop the elder, Esqr. Boston in New England. By our good freynd Mr. Wm Peirse, whome God preserue.

[The letter and postscript which precede the following, in the original, are copies of those dated 13 Sept. and 21 Feb., 1636; and are, therefore, not repeated.]

Laus Deo. In London, 15 March 1636, Stilo Angliæ.

Worthei Sir, — All deue respects premised. The afore written are coppyes of my former. Theise to accompanie our good freynd Mr. William Peirse by whome I had a full purpose to haue sent you an Antimoniall Cupp* which I make doubt whether I shall gett to send by him. Yf I bee not missinformed the vsse thereof (I feare immodderat) was an occasion of shortening Sir Nathaniell Riche's dayes, who hath made exchange of this liffe ffor a better. ffor the pretence of the Dorchester men I knowe not what to saie, I thincke if the trueth were knowen they rather should bee indebted to vs. I ame sure by sending the Company's shippe Lyon's Whelp for their occasions, the Company lost much money, beside the burden, ende commonley was layd on the Londoners: ffor my partyculer I protest vnfeynedley to my best knowledge I ame out of purse for the generall Company twixt 3 & 400*l*, & haue bene so ffor maney yeeres, what recompence I shall haue I know not, and it is not fytt aney pryuat man should beare a burden the generall bodey of the Company ought to beare. I will indeauour to bee further informed of this buiseynes of theres if I cane, but I perswade my selffe if aney such thinge were by order of Court, the Court bookes

* There is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society a curious tract, entitled "The Vniversall Medicine; or, the Vertves of the Antimoniall Cup. . . . By Iohn Evans, Minister, and Preacher of God's Word. London, 1634," — which contains a minute account of the efficacy of this medicinal agent in the cure of various diseases, but makes no mention of cases like that of the unfortunate Sir Nathaniel Rich. — Eds.

there will shewe it, and to my best remembrance they willingley gaue what they had there to goe vppon accoumpt of there Stock Intended. ffor my buiseynes with Thomas Mayhewe I referre you to what is aboue written, & what this bearer Mr. Peirse will showe and accquaynte you with, & what I haue written to our Gouernour* to whome indeede I haue beene larger therein then I Intended. I desyre your, his, & the ffauour of the Court so farr as my cause shall appeare honest and just, and I harteley pray you aduize and ffurder my seruant Jno. Jolliffe whereby hee may bee in possession of all my estate there & that it may bee publiqueley knowen Mr. Mayhewe neither had nor hath pouer or order to deale ffor me sethence the tyme of John Jolliffs arryuall there, otherwisse then what is done with the knowledge, aduize and consent of the sayd Jno. Jolliffe. It would bee to long to relate to you my wrongs, and Thomas Mayhewes vniust and indirect dealings by me in a most high nature, manner and measure, if truley knowen & vnderstoode, which I doubt not but Mr. Peirse will at lardge accquaynte you with, and I desyre he may bee imployed in helping to perffeckt my accowmpts with him. I hope by the next shippe to intreate a ffreynd that is mynded that way, if he do come thether to helpe settell my account, and some course also about my meanes I haue there before all bee consumed, ffor insteede of benefitt by New England I suffer to extremley in my estate, as you will soone perseyue when you vnderstand the trueth of all things. Excuse me I pray you in beeing to troblesome to you heerein. I may not omitt to accquaynt you with one passage touching the generall, nameley of one Mr. Cleve and Mr. Tucker who this last yeere were with me and pretended great good to our plantacion & great ffauour they could haue at Court, & desired my approbacion of somewhat they intended,

* Sir Henry Vane. — Eds.

whereto I could say nothing till I saw what it was. Wherevppon they brought me a writing which hauing seeyne I vtterley dislyked & disavowed for hauing owght to doe therein, but taking it to peruse before I would geeue my answere, caused a coppy to bee taken which I send you herewith. Sence Mooreton from them came to me on the exchange, & Mr. Peirse beeing there, I hauing noe desire to speake with Mooreton alone putt him of a turne or 2 on the exchange, till I ffound Mr. Pierse, & then caled him to me, and in his presence disavowed to haue aney thing to doe therein, for Moreton would haue had me pay the chardge or promiss some such matter in taking out somewhat vnder the seale this beeing done one or about the 9 January last, vppon the exchange, as Mr. Pierse cane relate vnto you.

There is 4 or 5 sommes of 25*l* a peece owing to pryveat men borrowed on the Companies seale, whereof there were maney more, but it seemes all paid saue th[ei]se, and theise I wish were paid, the not doing whereof by ill mouthes reflects [to] much to the disparagement of the Companie; Take it to hart I pray you, ffor you would and the Companie would if they knewe & heard that I doe & must heare to my greyffe & disdayne of there base languadge of vs: ffor my partyculer though I beare alreddy euen by that the generall Company owes me as vouched before more then to much, yeet were I not ouerpressed by my heauey burdens, there lode on me by T. M. I would stop some of there mouthes if not all, though I paid it out of my owne purse, but I ame fforsed otherwise. God forgeeue him that is the cause of it. I will heere conclude, beseeching the Allmightey to blesse with good suckcess all your Indeuours. I doe thinke Mr. Gouernour* shall doe himselffe a great deale of Right to c[o]m[e] for England as soone as his yeere is exspired

* i.e., Vane. — Eds.

and I ame to [co]nfident if he negleckt it, it will exceedingley preiudice him in his outward estate, I knowe you wish him realley well. Consider seriouslei of it I pray you & aduize him ffor his good, wherevnto the Lord direct you & him, & so I euer Rest

Your Worships assured to be Coma[nde]d

MATHEWE CRADOCK.

I thinke I shal bee forsed to bee a suytor for some land at Shaweshynne, the best of myne as I ame informed neere my house beeing allotted to Mr. Wilson & Mr. Nowell,* therefore pray your furderance wherein shalbee needfull. Yours MATHEWE CRADOCK.

I pray you be plesed to lett Mr. Peirse amongst others shewe you Mr. Palmers letter of Barnstable, whereby you will find a strang passadge of Thomas Mayhewes by me. I maruell Mr. Hayne would drawe him into such a buiseynes, but Mr. Haynes I am perswaded thought Mr. Mayhewes delings to bee others then they will appeare when they are vnmasked.

MATTHEW CRADOCK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Jno. Winthrop Esqr. Gouernour of Londons plantacon in the Mattachusetts bay in New England in America. — dlr.

Per the Desire of New England, Mr. John Cutting, whome God preserue.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, — My Loue & seruice presented to you. Yours of the 8. 8th I have receiued by my Cussen Cooke by which & other relacions I fynd my selfe still grow

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* See Mass. Colonial Records, i. 114. — EDS.

deep indebted unto you, which I wish it lay in my power to requite. I was lateley caled vppon by Mr. Mutyes, Clarke of the Counsell for answere to the letter sent you, but I replyed I had received none, & sence heard noe more thereof from him. The Writts for a parlaiment are nowe abroad. I heare there hath beene great adoe at Westminster theise 2 dayes about there burgesses, & not yeet agreed on. Come tuesday next the burgesses of London are to bee chosen, beeing the 4 March. God in mercy dyrect them & the whole kingdome in theire choise, that this parlament may produce good to the Realme; approching euills being much to be ffeared. Great preparacions are in hand against the Skotts as is doubted, God in mercy graunt all may bee concluded in pease. Some 3 dayes past this Inclosed* was & still contynues to bee openley sould & are exceedingley bowght vp. In pervsing of it you will be able to judge more. Yf you shall thinke of owght fitt to bee mooued in parlament, consider seriousley of it with the Court there, to whome I pray you tender my best seruice with all deue respects and vppon nottice of your desires I doubt not but to fynd meanes to furder the same, wherein my best indeuours shall at least wise not bee wanting. I ame behoulding to the Court, & I harteley thanke them for easing me in the cuntrey rates this last yeere, Truley as I once delyuered at a full boord at Counsell tabell, so I haue great cause to accknowledge God's goodness & mercy to me in inabling me to vndergoe what I haue & doe suffer by New England, & as I spake then openley so I profess sincereley, yf my heart deceyue me not, I joye more in the expectacon of that good shall come to others there when I shal bee dead & gone, then I greyue for my owne losses, thowgh they haue beene verry heauey & greate, seeing God hath inabled me to beare them. I vnderstand there is volun-

* The article enclosed cannot be identified at this late day. — Eds.

tary contribucions towrds a Colledge in Cambridge, which I must confess is a worthey worke. I pray your worship bee pleased to mooue the Court to cleere that debtt dewe to me by the Cuntry, out of which money I ame content and doe ffreeley geeue ffyftey pounds to the sayd Colledge & for the aduansment thereof;* I shall not troble you further at present but wish some serious course might be thought of howe returnes may bee prouided whereby trade may bee incoraged. I speake not for aney partyculer end of my owne, but for the publique good & ame of opynion to cherish a Magazine for ffish to bee the oneley way by Gods assistance. The well ordering of it is all, & noe better meanes I thinke then that some beginning bee made without expectacion of present proffitt oneley, that the ffishermen may be assured the ffish shalbee taken of there hands as ffast as they take it. This by degrees will drawe ffishermen to plant themselues there, & some must be dealt withall to begin to plant & to haue incoragement herein; but I submit to grauer judgments of your selfe & those there who are better able to judge what may bee done. Next heerevnto pipestaues if the tymber be fytt when well sesened would be thought vppon. I craue leaue & with tender of my seruice & best respects shall euer Rest Your worships to be comaunded

MATHEW CRADOCK.

LONDON 27 ffebr. 1639.

Remember my loue I hartely pray you to Mr. Downing. I doubt I shall not haue leisure to write him hereby. My selfe, wiffe, & mother desire to be remembred to your selfe and Mrs Winthrop.

* No mention is made, in the early history of Harvard College, of the liberal contribution for its establishment which Cradock here offers. — EDS.

LETTERS OF JOHN ENDECOTT.*

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my Deare & right worthie ffriend John Winthrop Junior† Esqr. dd.

Dearest Sir, — I writt vnto you by Mr. Babbe wherein I gaue you full commission to sell my howse. And I doe by theise second it againe, desiring you to sell it to an honest man, else not to sell it. The price I writt was 250*li*, what aboue you can. And if you see good you may abate some of it. I haue giuen order to Thomas Read who is now in England to finde out a chapman if hee can, as also to Mr. Peters in Holland, and haue written to him to make you acquainted with their proceedings that there be no wronge don to any. If God should so order that you can sell it, I pray you do so much as to certifie soe much by letter to Mr. Peters in Holland, who is at Roterdam. There is no newes heere, all your ffriends are well. We had the greatest snow fell the xxixth of the 9th moneth that I haue seene yet since I came into the Land. The

* John Endecott was one of the six original patentees of the Massachusetts Territory, granted 19th March, 1627–8. In June of this year, he embarked, with other colonists, in the "Abigail," for New England; and arrived at Salem on the 6th September. On the confirmation of the patent, 4th March the following year, Endecott received from the company in England a commission as "Governor of London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England;" which office he held until the transfer of the General Government, and the arrival of the company under Winthrop, in 1630. He afterwards served as Deputy-Governor four years, and as Governor sixteen years; being at the head of the administration a longer time than any other under the old patent. He died 15th March, 1665, aged seventy-seven. — *See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 26; *Young's Chron. of Mass.*, *passim.* — Eds.

† John Winthrop, Jr., at the writing of this letter, was in England. — Eds.

Crosse is much stood for, & I ame like to suffer in it.* The Lord his will be done. My wiefe remembers her loue to you & Mr. Williams. The good God bring you back againe in saftie to vs. To whom I committ you & rest

Your assured loving ffriend & brother in the Lord Jesvs. Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 8th of the 10th moneth 1634.

I haue written to Mr. Revell concerning my howse, it may be hee will buy it. If you please you may speake with him.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esqr. Gouernour dd.

Dearest Sir, — The bearer heereof Francis Felmingham, being husband to the eldest daughter of Beniamyn Cooper deceased, who (as you haue already beene informed) dyed intestate in the way overbound to this place, doeth in the right of his wiefe & sonne, clayme his right in the goods & chattells of the said Beniamyn; the rather for that the said Beniamyn gaue him no portion with his daughter. I therefore haue addressed him to your selfe to giue him some satisfaccion in that behalfe. I haue caused the order made in this particular to be put in practise that the goods may not come to dammage, and that the younger daughter† be prouided for. But I conceaue that Scruggs, with whom the younger daughter is, will not be a convenent Guardian for her, both in regard of his judgement & his & his wifs breedinge, & therefore to take some

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* A short time previous to this, Endecott had "defaced the cross in the ensign;" and, at the next March Court, he was called to answer for it. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 146, 156. — Eds.

† See letter of Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop, in this volume, p. 56 *et seq.* — Eds.

other when we shall meete. The wiefe of this Francis Felmingham (as I ame informed) is one that feares God. And her ffather brought her husband & her ouer vppon his owne chardge, and did intend to prouide for them heere. Having nothing else at present but my due respects vnto your deare wiefe, I leaue you to the Almighties guidance & blessing, resting

Yours if any thing Jo: Endecott.

Salem this 15 of the 6th moneth 1637.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Dearest Sir, — The severall reports of your sick condition since I came home have bene so divers, that I cannot tell wether my feares or my hopes of your recovery have been the greatest. Though when I came from you, your phisick had wrought so kindly made mee scarce to doubt of the best effects. My truest love makes mee feare what my best hopes would willinglye carry mee through, especially when I consider the further imployment the Lord hath yet for you heere amongest his people. When the worst tidings come I am yet comforted in this, that hee that giveth both health and salvation to his people, heareth in heaven, and is overcome by his poore wrestlers here on earth. Such thoughts I have had of Gods dealings with you, and with us all in visiting you at present, and what his meaning might be therein. But his thoughts are aboue our thoughts, and hee is onely wise. Sure I am he will doe that which shall be for the glory of his owne name, the true comfort and the good of his people. We have had many former experiences of Gods great mercies unto us in divers great deliverances since we came over, and why might we not expect that mercy also, even your deliverance from death. Surely it was not our worthynes that procured the former, and I still hope that our un-

worthiness (though it might justly) shall not bereaue us of this latter. Hee that raised up Lazarus can (why shall I not say will?) also restore you unto us. Meethincks when I loock upon all things as they now are amongst us, I might be confident herein, witch the Lord in mercie graunt, if it stand with his good pleasure. I longe to see you, and would er this have bene with you, could I have conceaved myself to be any way usefull to you, and would however had not Mr. Peters illness onely detayned mee, for hee hath bene very ill. But I hope the worst is past, though hee be as sick in his thoughts as ever. We both resolve the begininge of the weeke to visitt you. In the meane while I commend and commit you into the armes of our deare and loving Father, the God of all our consolation, health, and salvation; beseeching him to make your bed for you in your sickness, to comfort you in your greatest trialls and anguishes, to strengthen you in your greatest weakenesses, to stand by you as longe as you live, that you may live longe amongest us, if it be his bleassed will, to his praise, and at length to rest with him for ever in glorie, for the Lord Jesus Christ his sake, amen, amen.

Yours truelie whiles I live Jo: Endecott.*

Salem the 13 of the 3d. moneth 1638.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull our truely Honored Gouernour John Winthrop, Esqr, dd.

Dearest Sir, — I humblie thanck you for your last loving lettre. I will not at present reply any thinge. It

* The above is from an old copy, evidently taken from the original. Concerning the subject-matter of this letter, Winthrop, under date of May 2, records: "At the Court of Elections, the former Governor, John Winthrop, was chosen again. The same day, at night, he was taken with a sharp fever, which brought him near death; but many prayers were put up to the Lord for him, and he was restored again after one month." — *Hist. of N. E.*, i. 265. — Eds.

is well that your selfe & others of God's Children with you are satisfyed in that dismission. I confesse I yet ame not, but more heereafter of this particular. At present I ame bould to entreate your fauour in a case of Mr. Bishopps the bearer heereof. It is a case of conscience. I haue laboured to giue him the best satisfaccion I can, but it seemes hee is not satisfyed. I hope that hee is one truely fearing God & therefore I desire much, (if God see it good) hee may be satisfyed in his scruples & feares. It concerne chieflie the Magestracie concerninge their power in matters of Gods Worshipp. I leaue him to state the question, that you may the better satisfie him & the better understand him. As also if you please to take in the helpe of Mr. Cotton, whom hee doeth much deseruedly reverence; as also your good pastor, that at least hee may be convinced of his error. Kindnes doeth much prevail with him. This journey now into the bay is of purpose to seeke light as hee saith. The Lord giue him light, if it be his will. Hee is come of from his former judgment, that sanctification is not an euidence of our good estate. It may be hee may be brought of of this also. This being all at present, but my true seruice to your selfe & dearest yoakefellow, I commend you to the blessed protection of the Almighty & rest

Yours euer Jo: Endecott.

29th of the 8th moneth 1638.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Dearest Sir, — Vnderstanding by diuers heere that Mr. Eaton* hath ingaged himself to diuers within this Jurisdiccion in great sommes of money, as also abused others by

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* Reference is here made to Nathaniel Eaton, the schoolmaster of Cambridge; concerning whom more will be seen in a letter of his brother, Theophilus Eaton, among the miscellaneous letters in this volume. For a further account of the misconduct of this unhappy man, and the proceedings consequent thereon, see *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 308–313; *Mass. Colonial Records*, i. 275, 277. — Eds.

his base cariadges & now escaped the hands of such officers as were sent after him; I thought it my dutie to write vnto you onely to demaund whither it be not needfull to send after him where hee is gon, ffor I ame certainely informed that hee is gon in Neles barke to Virginiea. Now if you & the Deputie thinck meete to send to the Gouernour & State there to send him back, together with one Samuel Eale, a man of Mr. Natha Rogers, which Nele hath caryed with him: (though hee was informed whose seruant hee was, as Mr. Nathaniell Rogers tells mee) Mr. Younge his shippe is like to stay thise 2 or 3 dayes yet, who is bound for Virginea. I pray you if you thinck it meete & fitt that you will be pleased to send with what speede you can: I thinck if there be no other effect of it yet it will satisfie many men of the care this State hath of the welfare of their members. But it may doe the partie good to bring him vnder God's ordinances, & it may be a meanes of procuring parte at least of their estates who haue trusted him, as also prevent him from wronging others where hee may come. But I leaue all to your wise & Christian consideracon: and rest thanckfull vnto you for your louing tokens. I shall neuer come out of your debt. I must leaue another to repay all into your bosom, our good God, to whose blessed protection I leaue you.

euer remayning Your Worshipps truely
while I ame Jo: Endecott.

10 of 8ber 1639.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull & my truelie honored ffriend Jo: Winthrop, Esqr. Governour, dd.

Dearest Sir, — What construction you may put vpon my silence I dare not conclude, but I hope the best. The

wise man saith that a ffriend loueth at all tymes, and a brother is borne for aduersitie. And heere is my griefe, that I cannot shew my selfe either, as I desire or as my dutie binds [m]e. I cannot excuse my not writinge (though not out of neglect). But the present want of a more reall comfort & effectuall expression of my loue & seruice hath hithervnto hindred mee. If I should say I doe not truelie & heartilie reverence & loue you & yours, I should speak against my conscience. Yet I cannot satisfie my selfe with sole verball expressions. But I desire to waite vppon God who will in his tyme bring all our matters to passe, & work all our works for vs. I haue had many sad thoughts about your affliccion* yet I neuer doubted to this howre of your comfortable deliuerance. I ame thinking sometimes that the Lord is trying of the whole Countrie, not but that hee knowes their hearts &c. well enough, but hee will haue you to see their loues & affeccons towards you also. Sometimes I ame thinking hee is vppon the tryall of your selfe in the exercise of your faith & patience & other graces: that as you haue bene beneficiall & helpfull all your tyme since you came over, in the course hee had sett you, now hee will make you beneficiall another way to vs all in an exemplarie cheerefull vndergoinge of Gods afflicting hand in wisdom & patience. Sir let mee say thus much to you, that your last sicknes did you not good alone, but many others also, obseruinge the Lords guidinge of your spiritt vnder it: I blesse the Lord I can truely say I gayned by it; & I know some others that exprest the same. This I am confident in. The Lord is now louinge of you deerely, and his corrections are the corrections of a louing ffather. If hee will haue you to be poore for a little while it is to make you richer hereafter, not onelie heere as hee did Job, but for euer heereafter to all eternitie. I ame

* A further reference to Winthrop's affliction at this time, occasioned by an "unfaithful servant," may be seen in an admirable letter of Edward Winslow, written this same month, in Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers, p. 110. — Eds.

glad to heere you are chierfull, yet I know (in respect of others) your cares cannot be a few & I feare griefs also. The Lord our good God in mercie cary you through them to his praise & your true comfort. I should haue bene with you at Court, but I ame aduised by all my friends to stay at home this tyme. And I was the more easilie drawen vnto it, because I finde my selfe worse & worse within this sennight then I haue bene this moneth: my cold which I haue had this moneth or 5 weekes increasing vpon mee, & head out of order vpon euery little wett in my feete. I therefore shall desire you good Sir to excuse mee to the Deputie & the rest of the Court, beseeching the Lord in mercie to sitt amongest you & to guide you all in his feare to doe his will. To whose blessed protection I committ you and rest

Your Worshipps truelie & vnfeigned, whiles I ame

Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 2d of the 12 moneth 1639.

Myne & my wiefs service remembred to Mrs. Wintrop your deare yoakefellow & to Mr. Jo: Wintrop & his wiefe & our true loues to all yours with you. Your sister's sonne is named after your name — John.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull & my much honoured ffriend John Winthrop Esqr. deliuer theise at Boston.

Dearest Sir, — I haue according to your desire aduised with Mr. Downinge & Mr. Hawthorne concerninge Mr. Peter his voyage for England. And we haue imparted our thoughts each to other about it. And we haue (according to the tyme) considered ffirst of the proiect it selfe & 2dlie of the persons to be imployed about it. ffor the proiect (if we mistake it not) viz. ffor an agent or agents to

be imployed by the Country or Counsell to procure men or money or both for vs from England, wee (submittinge to better judgments) thinck it may proue more hurtfull then helpefull vnto vs diuers wayes. ffor ffirst it will conferme my Lord Say and others of his judgement that New England can no longer subsist without the helpe of old England; espetiallie they beinge already informed of the forwardnes of diuers amongest vs to remoue to the West Indies because they cannot heere maintayne their families. 2dlie. It is liklie to tend to the dishonour of God, when ill affected persons shall vnderstand that our necessities are such as we are forced to seeke for reliefe as before. 3dlie. It may be a meanes (instead of sending over more persons & money vnto vs) of discouraginge & diuerting both from vs. The report of our pouertie having bene alreadie a manifest cause of debarringe most from vs. 4thlie It is to be feared that vnlesse the money we exp[ect they] would sollicit for, be freelie giuen vs, it will rather impouerish vs, & so bringe dishonour to God by such ingagements not duely satisfyed then doe vs good, though it should come vppo[n] easie termes. Plimmoth plantacion may giue vs some light herein. But to looke amongest our selues, if there were noe other ground but this, the due consideration how vnprofitablie the monies we haue had haue bene layd out; as namelie, in wines & liquors, & English prouisions of dyett & vnnecessarie brauerie in apparell, all which tends to the scandall of religion & pouertie: much more might be said.

Yet thus farre we thinck Gods prouidence might be serued, that if priuately some Godlie wise men in seuerall townes were spoken to (who are well knowen in England, & haue bene men of eminency & esteeme amongest them, as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Ezek: Rogers, Mr. Norrice, & many others such) to write to their acquaintances who are likelie to doe vs good, by way of counsell to aduize them, that it might be pleasing to God to further the work of the Lord heere,

by their purses & persons, &c. This we thinck wilbe more effectuall then the other.

Touchinge the persons some of them who are thought to be most fitt to be imployed in this dissigne, doe thinck (with submission) most vnfitt, which we are assured you will also be of our myndes, when we shall speake together, but I forbeare to write, for letters may miscarry. Onely in generall to take notice, that they are men well affected to the West Indies. Other thinges hereafter. These few quæres I propose to your best thoughts.

1 Quære. Whither prayinge & waytinge (as the case stands) were not more agreeable to our state & condition then to runne vnder so many dangers to relieue our selues: the Lord hauing hitherto bene verie good vnto vs, beyond expectation.

2 Quære. Seeing it is likelie that the merchants in England & others are lookinge this way alreadie, whither it be not a forestallinge of the pr[o]uidence of God to run before it, & to hasten the worke our selues [which] the Lord would better effect in his tyme that his hand might be seene in it.

3 Quære. Whither it be not somewhat preposterous to goe from a place of safetie prouided of God, to a place of danger, vnder the hand of God to seeke reliefe for vs.

4 Quære. Whither it be proper fo[r [*torn*] mi]nister to leaue his worke & to attend to secular businesses which may be done by others. Whither it be not something Jesuiticall.

5 Quære. Whither the noise of procuring money out of England will not procure with it much envy from that State, & stirre vp against vs & the godlie there, the chiefest amongest them. Moneyes being denyed them by such men in case of such danger & waighty affaires in hand there.

6 Quære. Whither our scarcitie of money leads vs not rather to some more frugall course heere at home & to the

strict reformation of the mispending of money then to seeke abroad for more to maintaine vs in our disorders, which I feare will hardlie be avoyded.

7 Quære. Whither there will not be more peace vnto vs & blessing vppon vs in a patient waiting vpon God then in a (seeming at least) distrust of his providence.

These thinges I leaue to your more serious considerations: the Lord in mercie direct you in all, to whose blessed guidance & preseruation I leaue you, with my due & best respects & seruice to your selfe & deare yoakefellow, & rest

Your worshipps truelie & heartily euer to be commaunded Jo: Endecott.

Mr. Steephens man Anchor I haue called before mee a moneth since & I haue examined him, & threatened to haue him to the Court, fearing hee should not speake the whole trueth but conceale something. Hee cannot witnes of any miscariadge towards Bennetts wiefe* [*several words effaced*] But I gaue him not an oath because hee professed hee could not witnes any such thing in the least measure. Yet if this will not satisfie, vppon your intimation I will giue him an oath.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Dearest Sir, — Hearing of the remarkable stroake of Gods hand vppon the shippe† & shippes companie of Bristoll, as also of some Atheisticall passages & hellish profanations of the Sabbaths & deridings of the people & wayes of God, I thought good to desire a word or two of you of

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* Elizabeth Bennet was "censured to be whipped for her unchaste miscarriage," by the Court, 30th July, 1640. This letter must have been written before or about that time. — Eds.

† This probably refers to the ship "Mary Rose," which "was blown in pieces with her own powder, being 21 barrels," in the harbor of Charlestown, on the 27th of July, 1640. Endecott's letter bears date the day after the occurrence. — *See Winthrop's Hist of N. E.*, ii. 11, 72, 74. — Eds.

the trueth of what you haue heard. Such an extraordinary judgment would be searched into, what Gods meaninge is in it, both in respect of those whom it concernes more especiallie in England, as also in regard of ourselues. God will be honred in all dealings. We haue heard of seuerall vngodlie carriadges in that ship, as, ffirst in there way overbound they would constantlie jeere at the holie brethren of New England, & some of the marriners would in a scoffe ask when they should come to the holie Land? 2. After they lay in the harbor Mr. Norrice sent to the shippe one of our brethren vppon busines & hee heard them say, This is one of the holie brethren, mockinglie & disdainefullie. 3. That when some haue bene with them aboard to buy necessaries, the shippe men would vsuallie say to some of them that they could not want any thinge, they were full of the Spiritt. 4. That the last Lords Day, or the Lords Day before, there were many drinkings aboard with singings & musick in tymes of publique exercise. 5. That the last ffast the master or captaine of the shippe, with most of the companie would not goe to the meetinge, but read the booke of common prayer so often over that some of the company said hee had worne that threedbare, with many such passages. Now if these or the like be true, as I am persuaded some of them are, I think the trueth heereof would be made knowen, by some faithfull hand in Bristoll or else where, ffor it is a very remarkable & vnusuall stroake. Pardon I pray you my boldnes heerein. You shall command mee in any seruice I can doe. I write the rather because I haue some relation that way, & shall therefore be glad to be throughlie informed of theise things. This bein all at present, I leaue you with the Lord, desiring myne & my wie[f's] heartie loue & seruice to be remembred to your selfe & your dearest yoakefellow, & rest

Yours euer assured Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 28th of the 5th moneth 1640.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshipfull & my worthie & much honoured ffriend, John Winthrop Esqr. at Boston. dd.

Deare Sir, — I called our towne together before your Lettre came seeing the spoile of timber which might serue for many good vses. And the towne agreed not to cutt any great tymber which is fitt for shipping planckes or knees &c. nor any for clapboard within twoe miles of the towne eury way, nor to fell any other timber but for their owne priuate vse. I think it were well if the Generall Court would make provision heerein. I pray you Sir if you heare any certaine newes by any Lettres concerninge the taking of Newcastle & Durham, and the winter parliament or any other newes out of England, that you will be pleased to let mee vnderstand of it. All the newes comes to your partes first.

I am told that you are sollicited in a busines concerninge the girle * which was put to my keepinge & trust, whose estate was also committed to the trust of Mr. Hathorne [and] Mr. Batter. I have not bene made acquainted with it by you know whome, which if there had bene any such intendment I think it had bene but reason. But to let that passe, I pray you aduize not to stirre in it, for it will not be effected for reasons I shall shew you afterwards. The Lord in mercie keepe you & yours, to whose blessed guidance I committ you & rest.

Yours truelie & heartily euer to commaund

Jo: Endecott.

28 11mo. 1640.

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* See a letter of Emanuel Downing to Gov. Winthrop, pp. 56–58, and also a former letter of Endecott, on p. 132, of this volume. — Eds.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull my truelie honoured ffriend John Winthrop Senior Esqr dd.

Dearest Sir, — Both your Letters I receaued, for which I humblie thanck you. And in answere to them both thus. I shall (according to your desire in the one) call the old planters together assoone as convenientlie I can. And we will recollect what the Lord shalbe pleased to bring to our memories. And with what speede I can I shall send it you. I feare it will not suddainelie be done, because they liue at their farmes, but I will hasten it what I can.

Touching that in the other about Rebecca Cooper,* the Lord knowes I haue alwaies resolued (& so hath my wiefe euer since the girl came to vs) to yelde her vp to be disposed by yourselfe to any of yours if euer the Lord should make her fitt & worthie, & you accept of, which also I know Mr. Peters can & will fully satisfie you in from both our expressions from tyme to tyme. And that is our purposes & resolutions still, if God hinder not. Now for the other for whom you writt. I confesse I cannot freelie yeald therevnto for present, for theise grounds. ffirst The girle desires not to marry as yet. 2dlie Shee confesseth (which is the trueth) herselfe to be altogether yet vnfitt for such a condition, shee being a verie gerle & but 15 yeares of age. 3dlie When the man was moued to her, shee said shee could not like him. 4thlie You know it would be of ill report that a girle because shee hath some estate should be disposed of so younge, espetiallie not hauing any parents to choose for her. ffourthlie I haue some good hopes of the childes comminge one to the best things,

* See letter dated "Salem this 15 of the 6th month, 1637." — Eds.

And on the other side I feare, I will say no more. Other things I shall tell you when we meete. If this will not satisffie some, let the Court take her of from mee, & place her with any other to dispose of her, I shall be content; which I heare was plotted to accomplish this end: but I will further enquire about it, & you shall know of it if it be true, ffor I know there are many passages about this busines which when you come to heare of you will not like. But I leaue heere. The Lord our good God keepe & preserue you & yours blamelesse to the comminge & appearing of his Sonne. And giue vs all faith hopefullie to waite vppon him who will doe for vs aboue what we can ask or thinck. In whom I ame

Yours in true & heartie loue & affeccion while I liue

Jo:: Endecott.

Salem 5. 12. 40.

My wiefe desires to haue her seruice remembered to you & Mrs. Winthrop.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull John Winthrop Senior Esqr dd at Boston.

Deare Sir, — I hope I shall euer honour & loue you for your great care over mee & your wholsome counsell giuen to mee, which I haue through the mercie of God followed, so farre forth as I could vppon my best search chardge my selfe of the least appearance of giuing offence, either to the honoured maiestrates or ministers that subscribed the Letter. I think the church & all that heard mee will cleare mee of the things layd to my chardge. And I blesse God, so hath my honoured brother Mr. Humfries already done & hath giuen me full satisfaccion in his free acknowledgement of his failing heere, as also of his vniust chardges layd vpon mee there; which we were all

glad to heare, & do praise the name of God for him, and my heart is neerer knit to him than euer. Yet deare Sir let mee in loue tell you that you seeme in your Letter to tak all for granted that was related vnto you, which is not your wonted custome to doe, and that did at the first not a little greiue mee. Salomons rule would haue bene obserued. proverb 18. 17. If you had in the least measure suspended &c till I had written, it would haue sauored more of justice. But I cannot but thinck you in wisdome did it, to put mee to a deep search whereby the more to humble mee as I confesse I haue need to be. The Lord in mercie make mee thanckfull for all good helpes for my soul, & requite into your bosome all your labour of loue shewed to mee in this or in any of your former kindnesses. With him I will leaue you & in him rest

Yours most obliged Jo: Endecott.*

Salem the 15th of the 1 moneth 1640.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull John Winthrop Esqr. Gouernour at Boston Dlr.

Dearest Sir, — I humblie & heartilie thanck you for your last lettre of newes & for the trees you sent mee. I receaued your lettre lately & the trees I cannot yet heare of, but I hope I shall. I haue sent 2 or 3 tymes about them, & I cannot yet heare of them, the messenger you sent them by being gon to sea. I haue not sent you any trees because I heard not from you. But I haue trees for

* This letter probably has reference to Endecott's opposition to Peter's appointment as agent to go to England, concerning which some difference of opinion was expressed between Endecott and Humfrey. — See further in *Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.*, ii. 25, 26. — Eds.

you if you please to accept of them whensoeuer you shall send. I thinck it is to late to sett or remoue. I could wish you to remoue in the latter end of the yeare your trees, & I pray you send mee what you want, & I will supply what I can. My children burnt mee at least 500 trees this spring by setting the ground on fire neere them. I cannot send you any newes, but that your sister* is recouering apace out of her sicknes, as Mrs. Gott who kept her told mee yesterday. I shall I hope see her this day my selfe againe. I heard you were not verie well. I desire the Lord to strenggthen you to the worke hee hath called you vnto & to restore you to your health. I vnderstand that Mr. Otely hath a suite with our Deacons for some goods that Morecruft left with Mr. Peters which Otely sais Mr. Humfry bought of him, but I thinck it will appeare that Mr. Peters hath bought them & paid for them. If you please therebye to stay the suite till Mr. Peter come ouer, who we hope will be heere this spring, I thinck it will not be amisse, ffor Mr. Otely is upon going away, & is turning euery stone to get something, ffor hee is poore & is like to be poorer in the courses hee is in. We haue heere diuers that are taken with Gorton's opinions, which is a great griefe vnto vs, & Mr. Norrice is verie much troubled. There is one of them that hath reviled Mr. Norrice & spoken euill of the Church. I thought good to aduize with you whether it were not best to bynde the partie ouer to Boston Court, to make such a one exemplarie, that others might feare, ffor assuredly both with you & with vs, & in other places that heresie doeth spread which at length may proue dangerous. The Lord in mercie keepe you, to whose grace I commend you & rest

Yours euer to be commanded Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 22d of the 2d mo. 1644.

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* Mrs. Lucy Downing. — Eds.

Sir, Since I wrot my Lettre Mr. Norrice came to mee to tell mee, that hee heard that the Lady Moody* hath written to you to giue her aduice for her returne. I shall desire that she may not haue aduice to returne to this Jurisdiccion, vnlesse shee will acknowledge her euill in opposing the Churches, & leaue her opinions behinde her, ffor shee is a dangerous woeman. My brother Ludlow writt to mee that by meanes of a booke shee sent to Mrs. Eaton, shee questions her owne baptisme & it is verie doubtefull whither shee will be reclaymed, shee is so farre ingaged. The Lord rebuke Satan the aduersarie of our soules.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Dearest Sir, — I vnderstand by Mr. Tompson of our Towne, the sea man, that there is a great partie for the Kinge to the Eastward, and that they are makeing some preparations for some designes. They intertayned twoe of our Towne (ffayning themselues to be Caualiers) with much loue & good cheere, & they perceaue that something is in hand. They were plotting to take the Plimmoth pinnace, & were sorrie they missed their opportunitie. It is about Richmond Iland that which I speake of, but they haue a partie in all those partes. And hearing that Morton† went by sea to Gloster on the sixth day last, hoping from thence to get a passage to the Eastward, I sent a warrant to Gloster to apprehend him, if hee be there, ffor it is probable hee hath endeauored a partie to the Southward & now hee is gon to the Ea[stw]ard to doe

* The Lady Deborah Moody became a member of Salem Church, April 5, 1640; was admonished for denying infant-baptism; and, to avoid further difficulty, removed to Long Island in the summer of 1643. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.*, ii. 123, 124; *Felt's Annals of Salem*, ii. 577. — Eds.

† Thomas Morton, author of the New English Canaan, who, in the preceding year (1643), had returned to New England. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.*, ii. 151, 189. — Eds.

the like. It is most likelie that the Jesuites or some that way disposed haue sent him over to doe vs mischiefe, to raise vp our enemies round about vs both English & Indean. If you can send mee other speedy adui[ce] what to doe heerein I shall endeauour to put it in execution. If [it be] not to troublesom, I pray you send mee both ours & the Deputies propositions in our last conference touching the differences amongst vs. Thus with my best respects to your selfe & Mrs. Winthrop, with many thancks for your manifold vndeserved kindnesses, I rest yours euer

Jo: Endecott.

Salem, 23 (4) 1644.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the worshipfull my much honoured ffriend John Winthrop Esqr. Deputie Gouernour & President of the Commissioners for the Vnited Colonies dd. at Boston.

Sir, — There is a horse of one Goodwife Ingersoll a widow, which is prest for the seruice of theise warres. I cannot prevaile with the Cunstable to release him. I would not willingly put forth any power against the seruice of the Countrie, but the trueth is it is a horse which I alwaies vpon occasion ride on, & I haue none other of myne owne at present to vse, my mare is now great with fole which I vsed to ride, & my other mares are not yet backt; besides, this horse I haue in price, because I would not be vnfurnished vpon all occasions. And if the horse should goe it will be a losse to the Countrie, for I know hee will be spoiled. Hee is a costlie horse. Shee is offred tenne pownds for him, & I think 10*li.* will hardlie fetch him. The Constable might haue good mares, & hee saith seeing the warrant is for horses, hee will not take a mare. Doe in it what you shall see good. It is true the woeman hath another younge horse, but shee hath not seene him this three or 4 moneths, & if shee could finde him (which

is a question whether shee can or noe, or whether hee be not lost) yet being a young horse not vsed to be rid, hee would also be vnseruiceable. ffurther I thought good to write vnto you that there are some prest which are seruiceable men & they haue no armes. If the Clarke of the band were sent for & dealt with, that hee hath not bene so carefull in this particular, it were well. There is some cause why I should not doe it, otherwise I would not haue thus written. The Constable is glad to presse other mens armes to supply theirs, so that some will be disarmed amongest vs, vnlesse you could supply them there with the Countries armes. I see that if we should be putt to it against a forraigne enemie, that the Countrie is raw & much vnfurnished. I shall looke to it (God willing) for the tyme to come. I ame sorrey you are so troubled about theise occasions. The Lord in mercie carry you through them. In whom I ame,

Yours euer Jo: Endecott.*

Salem the 20th of the 6 mo. 1645.

This morning the Captaine came & tould me that diuers Indeans were found driuing away the Cattle at the head of the riuer, neere my farme, & shot at the keeper of them & at the cattle, but I hope it is false, howeuer there are 5 horsemen sent out to vnderstand the trueth of it, & to seeke after them, if true. I purpose to-morrow, God willing, to range the woods with some more company, if the newes be true.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull my worthy good ffriend John Winthrop Junior Esqr. at Tenne Hills.

My worthie good Ffriend, — I see your affeccion, & so I haue continuallie from tyme to tyme. I desire to be

* Endecott was this year chosen sergeant-major-general. — Eds.

thanckfull to God & to your selfe for your true loue, & I hope I shall euer acknowledge it. Yet let mee say truelie, I account not myselfe to be the lesse ingaged vnto you concerning what you wrote, ffor any such small courtesie as a few trees. But I shall endeauour, according to my abilitie, to shew myselfe thankfull, & to doe justice, though I must needs say I haue don you much wronge against my will, & ame sorry for it. It hath bene one of my greatest burthens. But I hope in tyme the Lord will enable mee — I say no more. What trees you want at any tyme, send to mee for them, & I will supply you as longe as I haue a tree.* And I will hold myselfe the more obliged vnto you, by how much you will be free with mee. I ame sorry you make so many apologies & cautiones to mee, I partly guesse from whence it proceeds, & that is because I told you I was ingaged to pay 1500, this springe. I haue almost paid them. & it was to excuse truely that I could not send you such trees as I would haue otherwise done ; but for small trees I can spare you as many more as I haue sent, & would now haue done it, but your man thought the horse (not being well) would not carrie them.

The Lord in mercie keepe you & yours & let myne & my wiefes heartie loue & due respects be remembred to Mrs. Winthrop. My wiefe would be glad to see her at Orchard this summer ; for they otherwise will scarse know one another. Yours euer to commaund

Jo : Endecott.

Orchard, 19th of the 1 mo. 1645.

Your man hath some Indico seeds for yourselfe & Mr. Peter.

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* Endecott would appear to have been engaged largely in the culture of fruit-trees; as it is stated in Charles M. Endicott's "Memoir of John Endecott," p. 80, that, in 1648, he exchanged five hundred apple-trees for two hundred and fifty acres of land. On page 68 of the same work is an account of the curious seal used by Endecott in his correspondence, a fac-simile of which is given in this volume. — Eds.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Dearest Sir, — I understand by Mr. Downing that you have received letters from Mons. D'Aulney, and that hee will send to us about the 7th month. I could wish, if you see it good, that the Commissioners were acquainted with it, I meane of the several Provinces, and moved (if they see good) to be here, because I desire they maybe as throughlie ingaged in what is done, or may be concluded, as ourselves. If you intend to call a General Court now, it will be in the middest of all our occasions, and the countrie will much suffer in it. If it be any tyme before D'Aulney's messenger comes to us, it will be well enough as farre as I can conceave; and if it were just at the tyme it would be the better; but I conceave that as uncertaine, unlesse hee hath appointed a certayne time: but I leave all to your better considerations. I humbly thank you for all the newes you have sent us at severall tymes: we finde here the hand of God much upon severall men's grayne by caterpillers, which threaten a dearth. The Lord fitt us for what he shall call us unto. To whose blessing I commit you, and all yours, and rest

Yours unfeygnedly, Jo: Endecott.

My wiffe desires to have her service remembred to Mrs. Winthrop.

9th 5 mo: 1646.*

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull & our truelie honoured Gouernour John Winthrop Esqr. at his house at Boston. Dd.

Dearest Sir, — I ame vnfitt to travaile, hauing an infirmitie vpon mee that I cannot well sitt on horseback nor

* This letter is also published in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers," the year of date being erroneously printed as 1746. — Eds.

trauaile on foote such a journey, & my eldest sonne hath bene so ill that we haue much feared his life, but is through Gods mercie much better, though not recouered. I waite for the next oportunitie of a warme day to admister phisick vnto him, & to take some my selfe. I ame the more sorrie I cannot be at this Court, because I doe not heare of your recouerie,* which the Lord in mercie grant in his due tyme. I desire you to examyn the trueth of what I writt vnto you in my last. Capt. Bridges & Mr. Saltonstall can fullie (I conceaue) informe you therein, ffor it much grieueth mee that your spirit should be iustlie troubled with the proceedings of that Court, in respect of that triall of Land. I doe not know vpon due examination that therein or in any other case concerning you or yours, that I haue bene averse, neither doe I know any iust ground why I should so be. I haue (I thanck God) euer highlie esteemed of you in my heart & were I able, I hope I should manifest it in effect.

Good Sir let vs labour to loue another & harbour the best thoughts one of another, we haue not longe to liue heere in this life, yet we shall heere remaine as longe as our appointed times are sett. I cannot tell whither any expressions in my last lettre may trouble you. I did not (I ame sure) intend any such thing, & therefore I beseech you take all in good parte. And labour for chierfulnes of spiritt, you know who hath commaunded it. You serue a good Maister, & therefore reioice in him. I will see you (God willinge) assoone as convenientlie I can. In the meane tyme I shall not cease praying vnto our good God for you, to whose grace & mercie I commend you & rest

Your most affectionate seruice (*sic*)

Jo: Endecott.

Orchard. 5. 1 mo. 1648.

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* Governor Winthrop died on the 26th of March, 1649, — three weeks after this letter was written. — Eds.

Sir, Since I ended my lettre there are diuers came to me, viz. Farington & his sonne & one Henry Ingolls, who complayne that Mr. Downing hath sent for the hay which was giuen vnto Farrington vpon a judgement which was as they say about 5 load, & 2 loads of an other mans, namely Ingolls, who cutt it & made it himselfe, & cut it in Liuetennant Walkers ground. The mens cattle are like to perish, & what the issue wilbe you may judge. I thought to acquaint you with it, that some course might be taken about it.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the worshipfull my truelie honoured ffriend John Winthrop Esqr. at his plantacion at Pequott present theise.

SALEM April 28, 1650.

DEARE SIR, — Your Loving Lettre was welcome to mee, wherein I see the goodnes of God to yourselffe & familie notwithstanding the bitternes of the winter, which hath occasioned death in some & diuers sicknesses to others. The Lord hath bene good vnto mee & my familie also in preserving of vs all in health. I doubt not but you haue heard of the newes of England & Ireland; in the generall all yet goes on well, Ireland is almost if not altogether subdued. England is quiet, notwithstanding the last new oath to be true to the State, as it is now moulded without King or Nobles in parliament. The Army hath taken the oath. All the Garisons haue taken it, & the Lord Maior & many Aldermen haue taken it. And such as refuse it, are as out-lawes, without benefitt of Courts of Justice or votes to choose parliament men. The arriers of souldiers pay is paid out of the King's Land made over to them & their heires foreuer which they willinglie accept of. The Archbishopps house at Lambeth is sould & pluckt downe,

& it seemes sould vppon that condition, & I thinck the rest will scape no better. I haue other newes which I doubt you haue heard of, & therefore shall not trouble you. Wee expect Capt. Leuerett euery day who I suppose will furnish vs. I shall send to you by the first oportunitie I meete withall. Mr. Peters is Colonell of a foote regiment in Ireland.

Touching Wiequashcooke's men if I knew any way or if you will giue mee any directions whereby I might be serviceable to you I shall heartilie & readilie endeauour it. Sir my heartie loue & my wiues due respects to yourselfe & good Mrs. Winthrop & Mrs. Lake remembered, with all our salutations to your children, whom I desire the Lord to blesse & prosper, I rest

Your vnfaigned ffaithfull & loving ffriend & servant

Jo: Endecott.*

My twoe sonnes remember their humble seruice to you.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Deare Sir, — I haue written Mr. Williams an answere to his letter you were pleased to bring mee, & I hope to satisfaccon as much as lyes in mee. And I heartilie desire you that you will labour with the Sachims of the Narrogansetts, Ninecroft & Mixam, that they will be peaceable with their neighbour Indeans till their complaints be heard & answered, which I shall indeavour to effect the next generall Court.

There is a Sachim that dwells at Quinnuboag, his name I know not, that complaines of Ninnecroft & Mixam who haue threatned the said sachim because hee will not goe to warres with them. I pray you if you haue the oportunitie

* Endecott was, at this time, Deputy-Governor of the Colony. — Eds.

to lett them know that the English will take it ill if they should wronge him, ffor he is resolued to come vnder the English that hee may learne to know God. I cannot write you any newes but what you heard when yow were heere; onelie Joseph Grafton came from Newfound land the last weeke, & there being 2 parliament ffrigotts who bring word that Lilly is taken wholie by the English & that there are gon 2 ffrigotts to the Barbados & many (the number I cannot tell you) marchants shippes, men of warre, to see what can be done there. There was no remarkeable thing done in Scotland the xijth of June last. The armyes haue not mett. This is all. Onelie I desire the Lord to blesse you & yours, to whom I desire myne & my wiefs due respects & harty loues be remembred & rest, Truelie Yours Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 15. 6. 51.

JOHN ENDECOTT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my right Wourthie & worshipfull good ffriend John Wintrop Esqr at Pequott, theise present.

Wourthie Sir, — Your Indean came to me at Salem the 16th of this moneth with the Dutch Governours packett, and I dispatched him this morning which is the 18th day. There is no newes in the Dutch Gouernours Lettre; onelie moues for continuance of peace & trade: I haue sent him an answere, such a one as I could without the Counsell. The Court brake up the middle of the last weeke, when all the Magistrates met. Had his lettres come then to our hands, he had had a fuller answere, yet without the Commissioners we cannot perfect any thing as touching peace or warre, wherefore we thinck shortlie to meete to consider of theise things. I thanck you for the

extract of the Dutch lettre. Some things certainely are mistaken if not all. We expect to heare shortlie from England, everie day looking for twoe shippes from Bristow. I heartilie thancke you for your care of sending the packett. If I could send you any good newes I should rejoyce. But the newes heere with vs is sad. I suppose you haue heard it. Mr. Cotton's death.* The late great fire† at Boston, wherein 8 howses were consumed & 3 young children burnt, & it was a wonderfull fauour of God the whole towne was not consumed of the ffire; Mr. Wilson's howse & goods, Mr. Sheath's house & goods & 3 young children, Mr. Shrimptons howse & goods, Mr. Sellick's howse & goods, Mr. Blackleech his howse & goods. The other[s] I haue forgotten theer names. It was the most dreadfull fire that I euer saw, by reason of the barrells of gunpowder which they had in their howses, which made men fearfull to come neere them. The Lord sanctifie his hand to vs all. Mr. Norton I thinck will succeede Mr. Cotton in his place, it is as good as concluded. The Lord in mercie preserue you all with yours. I pray remember my heartie & due respects to Mrs. Wintrop, & my loue to your children, not forgetting Mrs. Lake. Also Mr. Blinman & his wiefe. I haue no more at present but cordiallie to tell you that I ame Sir

Your truely loving ffriend & servant for euer

Jo: Endecott.

Salem, 18 of the 1st moneth, 1652.

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* Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, died Dec. 23, 1652. — Eds.

† The exact date of this fire, respecting which some uncertainty had existed, is recorded by John Hull, in his diary, as "1653, 14th, 1st," — only four days before the date of this letter (1652–3). It was known for many years after as "the great fire," and is so called by Josselyn in the Chronological Table appended to his New England's Rarities Discovered, printed in 1672. — *See Josselyn*, p. 111; *Archæologia Americana*, vol. iii. p. 174. — Eds.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM BRADFORD.*

WILLIAM BRADFORD TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. John Winthrope, Gouernour of the Massachusets, these be dd.

Beloued Sir, — I thanke you for your letter touching Mrs. Huchingson; I heard since of a monsterous, & prodigious birth which she should discouer amongst you; as also that she should retracte her confession or acknowledgmente of those errours, before she wente away; of which I haue heard many various reports. If your leasure would permite I should be much behoulden vnto you, to certiffie me in a word or tow, of the trueth & forme of that monster, &c. Vpon the Information & complainte of our neigbours at Sityate, I am requested by our assistants to write vnto you, touching a late parttition, or limiting of confines, betweene you & vs; of which we heard nothing till of late. Wherin we vnderstand you haue intrenched farr vpon those lands, which we haue conceiued to belong to vs by right diverce waies; as first by compossision, & anciente compacte with the natiues to whom the right & souerainite of them did belonge, which did extend as farr as Conahasete, which was the bounds between the Sachimes of the Massachusets, & those of these parts;

* William Bradford, the second governor of Plymouth Colony, was born at Austerfield, Yorkshire, March, 1589–90. He came over in the "Mayflower," in 1620; succeeded Carver, as chief magistrate, in 1621; and from that time to 1657, when he died, he had but five years' release from that office. He wrote a history of the Colony, which was freely used in manuscript by Morton, Prince, Hutchinson, and others; and which, after being lost for over seventy years, was recovered, and published, for the first time, in 1856, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, as vol. iii., third series, of their Collections. — Eds.

2ly. It since hath been confirmed vnto vs by patente from his Majesties authoritie. 3ly. Herevpon we haue posest it, & planted it some years agoe. We desire you will giue vs a reason of your proceedings herein; as also that ther may be a faire, & freindly desission of the controuercie; that we may preserue peace & brotherly loue amongst our selues, that haue so many enimies abroad. Ther was not long since hear with vs Mr. Cottington & some other of your people, who brought Mr. Williams with them and prest vs hard for a place at, or near Sowames, the which we denid them. Then Mr. Williams informed them of a spatious Iland caled Monachunte,* touching which they solisited our good will, to which we yeelded, (so they would compound with Ossamequine,) the which we heard was ill taken by you, but you may please to vnderstand that it is not in our Pattente, (though we tould them not so) for it only was excepted out of it. And we thought (if they likte it) it were better to haue them, (though they differ in oppinions) then (hapily) worse neigbours, both for vs, & you. We thinke it is also better for vs both to haue some strength in that Bay. Thus comending you, & your affairs to the Lord; with my loue remembred to your selfe, & the rest of my worthy friends with you, I take leaue & rest Your vnworthy freind

William Bradford.

Aprill .11. 1638.

[*Memo: indorsed by Gov. Winthrop on the above Letter.*]

My Answere to this Lettre (which I shewed to the Deputy) was to this effect: that before we did anything we acquainted Mr. Hatherly & had men of either parte to sett out the bounds, but they not agreeinge &c, I tould Mr. Winslow, & wished there might be some friendly course for setlinge the same, so as might neither strengthen Sci-

* Probably Aquedneck, or Rhode Island. — See Clark, in Mass. Hist. Coll., fourth series, ii. 24; Callender's Historical Discourse, pp. 29, 30; R. I. Hist. Coll., iv. 84. — Eds.

tuate nor Hingham. He answered, that what our Patent gave us we must have, & it was all one to them whither Scituate fell to them or to us &c; & aduised us to sett out our boundaries &c: which we did accordingly &c, but haue nede (?) to acte upon it, nor disposed anythinge to Hingham &c: *ergo* we see not why we should be called to give a reason of; &c; that this was upon some misinformation or want of information; that we would be sorrye that matter of jurisdiction should bringe our peace & loue into question: that if we had come hither for lande or if we had feared that our frends of Plymouth would haue bounded us to 3: or 4: miles of Natanscott, we could haue more easily haue enlarged our Grant than theirs. For the kings confirmacon I supposed it a mistake — the king dothe not use to confirme Indians grants. For their purchase of the Indians, it was the 1st I heard of it, & it would be hard to make their title good, & as hard to proue their grant to them. ffor Mr. Hatherly's company: we thought it were better for us bothe, if they were further off: we had not to doe with it but we were persuaded they would not haue furthered them &c, before they had aduised with us; & they might haue expected the like correspondency from us. Conclusion for a friendly devision &c. (2) 16. 1638.*

WILLIAM BRADFORD TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his worthy & much Honoured freind Mr. John Winthrop Esquire these be dd.

Sir, — Not knowing of this conueiance till they were ready to goe, I thought good to scrible a word or tow by candle light, rather then not to advertice you of so serious

* See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 284; Bradford's Hist. of Plym. Plantation, pp. 367-372; Lincoln's Hist. of Hingham, p. 53; Deane's Hist. of Scituate, p. 3. — Eds.

a mater; I am informed by good intelligence that the Narhiggansetts haue made a great colection amongst ther people; and sent a great presente, both of white & black beads to the Mowhakes,* to entreate their help against you, & your freinds, if they see cause. And they Mowhaks haue receiued their presente, & promised them aide, biding them begine when they will, & they will be ready for them, & doe encourage them with hope of successe. The thing is true, but I may not reveile the author. It would cost the liues of some if it should be known, neither would I haue it voulgarly knowne that it came from hence, least it should be susspected; their owne commone people doe not know it. I fear they are too well furnished with peeces by too much remisnes. Thus in hast I take leaue, with my harty saluts to you & yours, & many thanks for my kind entertainmente when I was last with you.

Your euer louing freind WILLIAM BRADFORD.

PLIM. 29 of 4 month 1640.

I pray you remember my loue to the Gouernour,† & acquainte him hearwith. And if you haue any spetiall newes from England I would be glad to know it.

WILLIAM BRADFORD TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his worthy & beloued freind Mr. John Winthrop Esquier these be dd.

WORTHY SIR, — I most kindly thanke you for your loue & paines in aquainting me with the newes from our owne Countrie; the Lord be mercifull to them, & vs, & teach vs to make that vse thereof that is befitting so sade a condition. I had sundrie courantoes came to my hands out of

* See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 8. — EDS.

† Thomas Dudley was Governor of Massachusetts at this time. — EDS.

Holand; in one wherof (bearing date in Nouember last) ther is mention made of an Inquision, & search made through all Englande of all the papists in the land, & the number giuen to the King weer aboue tow hundred thowsand families; & of them were found to be .16000. of the spiritualitie (as they call them). What may be the reason of this search is not expressed, but is not hard to be conjectured. We hear a rumorie that our freinds of Coonightecute intend to begine a warr with the Narrigansets speedilie. If you know any certaintie therof, I desire you would be pleased to aquaint vs with it, that we may the better looke to our owne defence. I wish they may goe vpon good grounds, least they bring euill vpon them selues & their nighbours; but if justice or necessitie compell them, they shall not (in my judgmente) doe well to linger so longe as to giue them time to geather in their corne. But the Lord direct them to doe, & you to counssell them, as may be for the best in so waighty a case. Thus with my humble thankfullnes vnto you for your loue; which I esteeme precious, I rest

Your vnworthy freind WILLIAM BRADFORD.

PLIM. 16. 6. month 1640.

WILLIAM BRADFORD TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honoured freind Mr. John Winthrop, Gouernour of the Massachusetts, these dd.

BELOUED SIR, — Hauing so fite an opportunitie, I thought good to salute you with these few lines. We were much troubled when we heard you kepte watch in your townes the sharp weather, & so much the reather because we could not hear the reason therof, nor vnderstand any thing from the Indeans of our quarters. We haue heard since of some messengers that haue been sent

vnto you; if ther be any thing materiall conscerning our comone saftie, I desire you would be pleased to informe vs in a word or 2 how things stand aboute the Narigansets or Mowhaks. We allso conceiue that our time of paimente to you, aboute Mr. Andrews money is expired, and therfore haue charged a bill on Mr. Hill to make this paymente vnto you. I pray you let vs hear a word of your acceptance. Sundrie haue been sicke amongst vs this winter, & some still are. God hath taken away Mr. Atwood, & Mr. Jeney by death; Mrs. Atwoods state being but low is intangled to Mr. Seawell of Ipswich, by a bond of .1000*li.* She prayes me on her behalfe to craue your aduice whether she had best administer or no, her husband haueing made her exsecutrixe; and if she refuse whether she may not haue her thirds; ther will be sufficente she conceiues to satisfie any accounte of money due to him, & some thing for her selfe, but by the bond the title of the land is to be restored to him, & Mr. Atwood hath sould it to Mr. Sherley, but he tould me it was only in trust, as he had it, but he tooke no writing vnder his hand that so it is. Thus comending you & all your affairs to the Lord, with salutations, I rest, in hast

Your louing friend WILLIAM BRADFORD.*

* This letter was written some time during the year 1644, in which the decease of Mr. Atwood and Mr. Jenney took place. — EDS.

LETTERS OF EDWARD WINSLOW.*

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshippfull his much respected ffriend John Winthrop, Esqr. these be d'd. — Conectacut.

NEW PLYM. the 22th of the 4th moneth.†

WORTHY SIR, — I perceiued by a letter of Mr. Brewsters ‡ of a mocion of yours to him to procure you hay for an 100 beasts. We had a purpose to haue sent some cattle thither, but so discouraged by him, through the injurious dealing of his intruding neighbours, as we feare there will not be long living for man or beast, but if you please to make vse of our right, my brother shall sett your servants to worke in our names & by our order, & affourd them what ever personall helpe shall be thought meet, to the utmost of our power. What we shall yet doe I know not, but will know ere long, and if New England will affourd no Justice, will appeale further; but God forbid we should be put on such extremities: But were it not for Christs cause in that our profession may come to suffer by it, we would not be satisfied with the tenth of our demand, but

* Edward Winslow was one of the most accomplished and influential men of Plymouth Colony. He came over with the celebrated Mayflower company in 1620; and was Governor of the Colony in 1633, 1636, and 1644. He went to England four times as agent of the Massachusetts or Plymouth Colonies, and from his last visit never returned. In 1654, he was appointed one of three commissioners to determine the value of the English ships destroyed by the King of Denmark; and his original commission from the Protector is now at Plymouth. In 1655, he was sent by Cromwell, as the chief of three commissioners, to superintend the expedition against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies; and died at sea, near Hispaniola, on the 8th of May of that year, in the sixtieth year of his age. — *See Davis's ed. of Morton's Memorial*, pp. 259–261; *Young's Chron. of Mass.*, 274, 275. — EDS.

† Probably 1636. — EDS.

‡ Jonathan Brewster of Connecticut, son of Elder Brewster. — EDS.

would hasten another way. These oppressors deserue no favor, their pride would be taken down. Tis pitty religion should be a cloake for such spirits. News I suppose I cannot send more then you heare. I haue now written to your Government, & exspect answere ere long. I thank you for the good office you endeauoured when you were aboue, but sorry to heare how little effect your words tooke with them. God in time I hope will shew them their folly. In the meane time & ever God direct you in all your proceedings. Be you kindely saluted & all that feare God with you, who in mercy preserue you & them, so prayeth Your assured ffriend.

Edw: Wynslow.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right Worshippfull his much honored ffriend John Winthrop Esqr. Gouerner of the Massachusetts, these be dd.

Much honored Sir, — Your many & undeserued kindnesses, as formerly so more especially at my being last with you, tie me if possible yet neerer in heart & affeccion towards you & yours, whom I salute in the Lord. At our comming home, by the goodnes of our God, there was an Indian newly commen from Titacutt to advertise us that they had that day, being the day of our travells & 2d of the weeke, discovered the track & footing of a party of Indians, which could not be lesse in number then an hundred, which made either towards Duxburrow or your parts, advising us to be in readines to receiue them, not knowing what their intent might be. Thomas Willet is commen from the Dutch, your son Mr. Stephen in good health, who hath written to you by him. Capt. Vnderhill & the company at the ffort in health, he hath violently taken a Pecoat woman from the Dutch which was a Sa-

chims wife, & hath her prisoner, knows nothing of what we heare concerning Capt. Mason, but onely that he was exspected downe with ninety men. Mr. Gardner it seems much discourageth common men by extalling the valor of your adversaries, preferring them before the Spaniards. Your Sachim of the Massachusets is in some jealousie amongst others because, say they, he was at Narrohigganset & saw the willingnes of the multitude to become your enemies when the head was brought & did not acquaint you. The Pecoats follow their fishing & planting as if they had no enemies. Their women of esteeme & children are gone to Long Island with a strong gard at Pecoat. They professe there you shall finde them, and as they were there borne & bred, there their bones shall be buried & rott in despight of the English: but if the Lord be on our side, their braggs will soone fall. The truth is if onece they be routed we know their courage will faile: *ergo*, feere not. I pray you when the questions are once stated for the conference, let us haue a coppy of them. My letters heer but newly deliuered. The Lord in mercy goe along with you. I durst not lose this opportunity, nor can I write more being called on to seale.

Yours assured to his power

EDW: WINSLOW.

MAY 22, 1637.

I pray you salute your Assistants, also Mr. Wilson, Mr. Peaters, Mr. Shepheard, &c. Let my hast excuse me.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

RIGHT WORSHIPPFULL, — Although you cannot but be overburthened with busines of divers kinds yet I am bold once more to trouble you, giving thanks for your last remembrance in sending the coppy to me, which I haue

sent againe, not knowing whether you haue any other, but hope we shall never be troubled with the reallity thereof. If such a thing be, I perswade my selfe it never was without my old neighbour Isaack,* whose head is alwaies full of such projects, & hath too great familiarity with our common adversaries: but were he as well knowne to yours as us, they would rather haue kept him heer then any way haue incouraged his going over: but what I write I would not haue made publick; but the truth is he loveth neither you nor us.

We heare there is a noble man commen over unto you, but cannot beleeue till we can receiue more credible informacon. If you could spare us a line you should further obliege us. I am sorry to heare the differences arê as great as ever, but glad that our good God hath sent over men of such abilities to helpe in his cawse. I pray you salute your brother Peeters, Mr. Damport† (unknowne) also Mr. Eaton & Mr. Hopkins. If I be not too bold with you, and if you heare from Mr. Stoughton & Mr. Wilson I beseech you let us know how things stand. Thus with my prayers for you & yours take leaue remayning

Yours assured to his power EDW: WINSLOW.

PLYM. the 1 of the 5th mo. 1637.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshippfull his much honored ffriend Joh. Winthrop Esq. at his howse at Boston, these be dd.

SIR, — Yours of the 18th of this present I lately receiued, being perswaded, as you write, that if it were your owne case you would not stand with me, but in a case be-

* Isaac Allerton. — EDS.

† Rev. John Davenport arrived at Boston, June 26, 1637, in company with Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins. — EDS.

tween a stranger & you wherin you are betrusted, & for the publick &c. I hope you conceiue of me as of one that would not desire any thing that should appear to be unjust: but for the cattle to be valued by two publick persons of your owne might haue satisfied the publick; and for Mr. Andrews tis true he desired cattle of such an age & price; but the price at that time was under their worth by a yeares growth: for yearlings & the advantage were ordinarily sold for 15*l.* Againe Mr. Andrews is well acquainted with payments in England & how easie a thing it is to turne any valuable commodity into money, but it is otherwise heer, & especially at this the most hard & dead time of all other these many yeares: I speak as it is with us: but if you conceiue the Gentlemen valued them too high I am contented to let them goe as I offered to your selfe at 18*li* per head the fiue. If you say it is too high, truly I marvell at it, being this weeke Mr. Hatherly made payment to Mr. Freeman & Mr. Atwood in cows (& in a busines Mr. Andrews, if I be not much mistaken, is interested) at 18*li* 15*s.* per head. Nay since these valued some passed in account between Mr. Paddy & some of your parts at 20*li* per head; & therefore I pray you take it into further consideracon, & remember you may fall into an extreame. Truly Sir it is my desire to discharge it that makes me importune you, neither doe I conceiue how you can justly suffer in it: & to avoide suffering I see is not possible: for I finde innocency (by lamentable experience) will little helpe amongst men, yea wherein I haue been most carefull, therein most abused, & therefore in discharging a good conscience we must leaue all events to God. If I had any hopes of a chapman I would make money of them but haue none, however I thanke you that haue been so kinde to giue me time: but I feare that time will rather hurt then helpe me, & therefore beseech you againe either to accept them or acquaint Mr. Stoughton with it that he may write to Mr. Endecot about it: for

they may doe it as well by letter as presence, onely I pray you conceale what I offer if they must value them: & if you please I will send them vpon the first notice.

I thanke you for your loving manifestacion about mine owne busines. There hath nothing beene done in it since the Gentlemen (to whom I am much bownden) were heer. As there shall be any thing done I take it my duty to acquaint them who haue taken so much paines therein. Only my purpose is to study waies to satisfie for words so far as a good cause will permit. The Lord in mercy direct me who haue need of more then humane patience to beare these things from this people: ffor ten times more from others were not a tenth part so much, nor can any beleeue that seeth not, that I should suffer as I doe from them. The Lord lay it not to their charge & giue me wisdom & patience to beare it. Be you saluted & yours together with those Gentlemen (especially my respects to your Gouernour.*) Good Sir let me haue your prayers who remaine Yours till death.

EDW: W[INS]LOW.

(4) 27. 40.

I thanke you for your English news. I received a letter from Mr. Sherley this yeare; he writes that in steed of a letter he had thought to haue seen me, but is glad I came not, for if I or any partner had commen Mr. Beauchamp had trowbled him, & had for that end entertayned a Soliciter, etc. He writes me of the Lord Keepers† death, & that Secretarie Cooke‡ hath letters of ease, which is to me very sad: for New England in those two is stripped at once of our best friends at the Board: so that now we must live by ffaith without any dependance on meanes at all. Mr. Downing to whom I desire to be remembred

* Dudley. — EDS.

† Thomas, Lord Coventry, who died Jan. 13, 1640. — EDS.

‡ Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. — EDS.

with all thankefulnes, can better informe you about it then my selfe.

I would haue written to the Gentlemen about our busines, but knew not how you would take it, but what you shall write in it I will stand to, & therefore I pray you let it be dispatched & let me haue word that I may send them.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshippfull his much respected ffriend Joh. Winthrop Esqr. at his howse at Boston these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — Your last letter I received & giue you thanks for your continued loue in imparting unto us such news as you heare from England. What will be the issue of these sore beginnings the Lord onely knoweth, but it concerneth us deeply to be affected with them as a people that must share with them in weale & woe. The Lord in mercy so order & dispose as what is amis may be reformed, & his name may be glorified.

Concerning your acceptance of the fiue cows I am willing to send them, & becawse the wether is so hott, the flie so busie, & the woods so thick, I haue agreed with Robert Waterman to bring them by water. I pray you send me a receipt under your hand for them upon the back of the note or bill I left with you. Thus with my kinde salutes to your selfe & all yours whose wellfare I desire as mine owne, with all due respects to you & them take leaue remayning Yours assured

Edw: Winslow.

Plym. (5) 7—40.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the worshippfull his much honored ffriend Joh. Winthrop, Esqr at his howse at Boston, these be dd.

Sir, — By the enclosed you may perceiue the ernest request of your unfaithfull servant Luxford * who hath no lesse but much more importuned me since I received his lines, using Paul's plea for Onesimus &c. but you know the man & his manner of importunity, pleading his paines & care so many yeares, & however his faylings were great, yet I perceiue he thinks his paines to be greater, & that in his extreame necessity you should take compassion on him, but I refer you to your mercy & yet would haue you consider well what you doe. The truth is I thinke he is very pore: for he worketh not, yet offered me his labor this harvest for his dyet, which for some reasons I durst not accept, but pitty the man. He hath taken a ffarme of Mr. Hanbury which was Mr. Brown's at 4*l* per annum, but how he will pay it or raise it I know not, especially when he hath neither stock, security, foode, nor credit. He saith there are some in the bay that will affourd him some help, but who they are or what it is I know not.

I suppose you haue heard what was the issue of the day of humiliacion concerning the eleccion of Mr. Chancey. But things are like still to goe ill, for on the 2d day of this weeke a mocon was made by Mr. Paddy & some that inordinately cleaue to him for his setling at Jones river, some three miles from Plimouth, who purposeth there to lay the foundacon of an Academy, & reade the arts to some that are fitt for that purpose, that so they may also haue use of his gifts. I manifested my dislike to the Gouernour who

* See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 3; Gov. Winthrop's Will, dated (4) 25, 1641, in Appendix to the same volume, pp. 359–361; and also Hutchinson's Coll. of Original Papers, p. 110. — Eds.

still pressed his gifts, but I told him they must still retaine his errors etc. with his gifts, which were like to weaken if not destroy both the Congregacions of Plymouth & Duxburrow, being seated in the midst equally between both, having already manifested his judgement to be more rigid then any Separatist I ever read or knew, he holding it lawfull (nay a duty for ought I heare) to censure any that shall oppose the major part of the Church, whether it be in eleccion of officers or receiving in or casting out of members if they will not be convicted & yield, by which meanes 10 or more may be cast out to receiue in one. But what will be the issue of these things the Lord onely knoweth. I feare the Lord hath a quarrell with us, & the rather becawse Mr. Bradford & Mr. Reyner are both drawn to yield to the mocion which is so contrary in my apprehension to the peace of the Churches, especially when I consider the confidence or rather selfewillednes of the man. Truly Sir, I conceiue if you conceale how you came by your informacion, & giue your Christian advice to Mr. Bradford spedily about it, you may be the instrument of much good; for my selfe however I am ready to demand a dismission from them, yet I simpathise with them & desire their welfare as much as ever, & for me to oppose, he hath such a party as I might rather expect dismission with a censure then otherwise. But entreating you to conceale your author, & commending you & it with all yours to the blessing of the blessed God, with many thanks for your last loue take leaue remayning

Yours till death EDW: WINSLOW.

CARESWELL, this 10th of 8th 1640.

Mr. Blindman salutes you.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored ffriend Joh: Winthrop Esqr. at his howse at Boston these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — When I remember your constant & long continued loue I cannot but blame my selfe that hauing no speciall busines into your parts this winter season, & thereby debarred sight, haue not so much as written these two moneths unto you. This later I must needs confesse is inexcusable, but for the former howeuer it is busines enough for me to see the face of your selfe & yours, together with the many godly & pretious friends & brethren I haue both in Boston & elsewhere amongst you, yet the many businesses I haue had (& the more in regard of Mr. Blinman's friends that are come to liue with us, & the streightnes of place to receiue them) & our preparacons to enter into covenant, together with many affliccons in my ffamily, God being pleased still to exercise me under his hand by taking away one of my children by death, & some others in my ffamily exercised with sicknes, together with some other outward losses in my cattle, may rather cawse me to stay at home and consider, then to be exercised abroade. But, God willing, I shall take a due season to see you, & them: in the meane time let these my lines witness my continued loue to you & them whose welfare, if my heart deceiue me not, I desire as mine owne.

I received letters lately from Mr. Endecot & your brother Peters, & make bold to trowble you with conveyance of my answers to them, together with many smale pamphlets, bownd up together, which we printed in the Netherlands, occasioned by one of them called the Peoples Plea for the exercise of Prophesie, which he much desired

me to procure & send him, & which I entreat you to convay by the first opportunity; for it was long before I could call to minde where I had lent it, & could not procure another in all Plimoth. There is a ffriend of mine that desired me to crave your advice in two particulars: the one in case he hath sold a parcell of goods of some value to one upon day, & hath but a bare bill for his security, & the person['s] sufficiency suspected, whether your Court allow not an arrest for better security? or if he cannot be that way relieved, then by what other? The 2d is of greater consequence, vizt. having an estate of lands still in Wales, tho' as formally made over to another as advice of law would passe it, & acknowledged before a Master of the Chancery, yet since his comming away is credibly informed that he was called in Court of Star Chamber & fined 200*li* for not appearance, but was never served with any precept nor heard of it till within these 14 daies, nor can conceiue any thing saue malice should be alledged against him. Now what course you will advise him to take in it. I pray you Sir pardon my boldnes with you, & let me receiue a word or to from you as your occasions will permit. Be you kindely saluted, also Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson, your sons Mr. Joh. Mr. Steph. & Mr. Adam, with all other my beloved ffriends with you, whose prayers I desire, especially in that great & weighty worke which doth so much concerne the glory of God in raysing up his church amongst us. And the Father of Mercies & God of Comfort raise & keepe up your spirit aboue all the crosses of this life, & fill you with his comforts in Christ Jesus. Amen. Yours in many bonds

Edw: Winslow.

Careswell 11. 28. 1640.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, — I have deferred writing many times in hope of time to enlarge myselfe to you, but never more streightned then at present, yet ashamed to withhold any longer, but I pray you pardon my brevity. Concerning the Vnion our Majestrates & Deputies approue well of what is done, & two of our townes passed it before the Court; vizt. Plimoth & Marshfield: the rest of the Deputies carried it from the Court to their townes to be confirmed, none doubting of it, & with order to returne their votes this moneth, so that there is no doubt of our thorow close with you therein.

Concerning the cattle, I sent the fiue cowes, a two yeare old heyfer, & a yearling steer, by Roe according to your order, but one of the cows calved two daies before, & he would not take the calfe with him but left it, which was prised at 7*s*, another calfe at 14*s*, & two other calues at 36*s*, & the two yeare old heyfer at 3*li* 15*s*, which in all amounted to 6*li* 12*s*, the just sum which was due to me for the wintering of those seaven beasts: Mr. Bulkley affirming that but to make even money he would not haue yielded to so much. And for the skin of the beast that miscaried at winter I allow 13*s* 4*d*. for it, which was due to me upon the former devision. I would haue enlarged but the tide is almost spent, & I haue other letters must needs write, & so hope you will excuse me who saluting you in the Lord Jesus take leave & remaine

Yours to his power Edw: Winslow.

Careswell 13 (4) 43.

Mr. Collier & my selfe chosen Commissioners to confirme, & so for the following season.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshippfull his much honored ffriend Joh. Winthrop, Esqr. Governour of the Massachusetts these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — Another opportunity offering it selfe I can do no lesse then write, hoping I am not trowblesom therein, for if I be I should be much more if I lived neer you in often discourse. Since the receipt of yours who intimate enlargement if time had permitted, I understand by Mr. Prence who had it from an Indian of good esteem amongst them, that the Narr. prepare for war, that the Mowhakes haue promised to aide them with a thowsand men in the spring, that when they come neer they will make a stand that so Vncas may haue notice of it; whereupon they conceiue he will flie to the English: that done they purpose to send a message to the English & demand Vncas, and as they receiue answere so to proceed. Since this we heare from the Dutch that they haue an army of an 120 men, English & Dutch against the Indians. These seeke them & haue slaine 20 Indians with the losse of 2 English; they haue also taken 4 Indian prisoners whom they make per force to be their guides. That Captain Patrick is slaine by a Dutch man, being probably suspected to haue a hand in directing the Indians in their late mischiefe, the manner thus, Patrick having holpen them to an Indian guide to bring them to a ffort, led them amis the whole night, at day knowing where they were, went again to Patrick's howse, where a Dutch man called Patrick traytor. He returned the lie & spet in the Dutch man's face, whereat he bent his pistoll & shot him in the head, so as he fell down dead & never spake more: the delinquent was committed to the safe custody of Captain Vnderhill but since escaped.*

* See further concerning Capt. Patrick, and the circumstances attending his death, in Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 151. — Eds.

Concerning Morton, our Governor gave way that he should winter heer, but begon as soon as winter breaks vp. Capt Standish takes great offence theerat, especially that he is so neer him as Duxburrow, & goeth sometimes a fowling in his ground. He cannot procure the lest respect amongst our people, liveth meanely at 4*s* per week & content to drinke water, so he may dyet at that price. But admit he hath a proteccion yet it were worth the while to deale with him till we see it. The truth is I much question his pretended employment; for he hath heer onely shewed the fframe of a Common Weale & some old sealed commissions, but no inside knowne. As for Mr. Rigby if he be so honest, good & hopefull an instrument as report passeth on him, he hath good hap to light on two of the arrantest known knaues that ever trod on new English shore, to be his agents east & west, as Cleves & Morton: but I shall be jealous on him till I know him better, & hope others will take heed how they trust him who investeth such with power who haue devoted themselves to the ruine of the Countrey, as Morton hath. And for my part (who if my hart deceiue me not can pass by all the evill instrumentally he brought on me) would not haue this serpent stey amongst us, who out of doubt in time will get strength to him if he be suffered, who promiseth large porcions of land about New haven, Narrohiganset, etc. to all that will goe with him, but hath a promise but of one person who is old, weake, & decrepid, a very athiest & fitt companion for him: but indeed Morton is the odium of our people at present, & if he be suffered (for we are diversly minded) it will be just with God who hath putt him in our hands & we will foster such an one that afterward we shall suffer for it. But the Messenger cals for my letter & I must breake off, & therefore saluting you in the Lord take leaue & remaine

Yours ever to be commanded

CARESWELL 7. (11.) 43. EDW: WINSLOW.

I pray you Sir, in your next write whether ever the message were sent to the Mowhakes, & as you haue occasion salute our ffriends at Conecticutt & New Haven from me, & if you judge any of these things materiall impart it.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshippfull his much honored ffriend Joh. Winthrop, Esq. Governor of the Massachuset, these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — About a moneth since I wrote to you, & now within a few daies it came to my hands againe, yet haue I sent it, being glad of the present opportunity by Mr. Paddy to salute you & all yours in the Lord Jesus. And becawse we would save your Government a labor to send to us for the money due by bond from Mr. Bradford, my selfe, &c. to your Government upon Mr. Andrews gift; I haue given Mr. Paddy a bill of exchange for the discharge of it, onely becawse I know not the exact sum I haue left a blanck for it, & given him authority to insert it; that so he may take up the bond upon the delivery of the bill to your selfe.

We heard you were upon your gard, but becawse we had no notice from your selfe about it it did not trowble us. We heare you have news from New haven & Coneetacut. I hope you will impart it to us if there be anithing materiall; however shall be glad to heare of our brethren there.

Thus with my prayers to the Almighty for the continuance & increase of his mercies towards us, humbly take leaue & rest

Your assured Edw. Winslow.

Marshfield 7. (12) 43.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored ffriend John Winthrop, Esqr. Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts, these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — Your loving letter & large manifestacions of continued affeccon I received with much comfort after so long silence, no lesse desiring what communion can be mainteyned at such a distance as our all ordering God hath cast us. Your large letter I prised, & as I thanke you for your great paines, so I cannot but simpathise with you in these ungratefull requitalls you receiue at the hands of some from whom you haue better deserved: but I know you serue not men alone in what you doe, & hope you haue comfort between God & your selfe in the greatest discomforts you heer meet with. I thanke God I haue tasted of the same cupp: & tho it were bitter in the mouth, yet my owne impatiency hath more trowbled & grieved my spirit vpon coole deliberacon then all the rest. I beseech God to giue you such a measure of spirituall strength & wisedome under the present temptations as to carry you more comfortably on; & then when these storms are blowne over, the calme will be the more comfortable to you, & your adversaries more ashamed of their turbulent courses, which the Lord in much mercy grant, and I doubt not but to see, if the Lord spare us life, in a short time.

I haue been ill since our Court till this present, tho' now at Plymouth: whether I hastened so soone as God gaue strength, becawse of some distraccions I heard of amongst them upon their removall; where I finde things better then I heard, & see no likelihood of the Churches departure at present, tho' they haue given way to some unsetled brethren to goe into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod. I write nothing to you about the determinacon of our

Court concerning the beaver trade, becawse I haue written to your Commissioners largely thereabout, & trust they will see cawse to desist, assuring my selfe otherwise they will repent too late.

As for the Narrohigansetts etc. if there be occasion I shall willingly come over upon notice & haue the passages in particular in writing as they were agitated at Hartford, which I shall endeaver to preserue: ffor I tooke their severall allegations & defences. Thus with my due respects to your selfe & wife & all yours & theirs, saluting you & them in our common Saviour, & desiring my salutacon & due respects may be tendered to your Governour* & Mr. Dudley, & other my knowne ffriends, take leaue & remaine

Yours as his owne EDW: WINSLOW.

PLYM. 28, (1,), 45.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored ffriend John Winthrop, Esqr. Governor of the Massachusetts. these be dd.

MUCH HONORED SIR, — Yours of the 3d of this present I received by Mr. Hutchenson, & remaine thankefull for your care & loue manifested as often as you write.

Our eleccion is over. Mr. Bradford Governor; the Assistants the same, saue onely Mr. Thomas insteed of Mr. Freeman, whom I suppose the countrey left out in regard of his professed Anabaptistry & separacon from the Churches. Mr. Brown & Mr. Hatherly are our Commissioners for the yeare.

We haue a sad accident heer befallen the Captain of the man of war, who reproving & commanding one of his

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* Endecott was Governor in 1645. — EDS.

company silence, who most notoriously abusing his person, command, & whole company, (being a trowbler of earth, aire, & sea whilest he lived), tooke the mans rapier out of his hand, which he offered to draw upon his Captain, & first struck him with it in the scabberd: but he continuing his raging & vilefying his person & company chiefely, strooke him with the hilt of it on the head, the blow falling on the crosse barre most unhappily peirced his scull, & he is dead thereof. But however he was never out of quarrels at sea as they say, or on shore since they came in hither, having been twice in the field tho' not at sharp, through the wishes of others who detayned his rapier from him, yet the quest fownd he died of the stroake given by Capt. Crumwell. This morning we purpose to send for him whom we heare attendeth his triall, onely desireth these two favors, that he be not committed to the ordinary prison nor put into the hands of the Marshall, but into the custody of such as will be bownd body for body for him. The 2d is that he be not tried by a pety Jury, but by a Cownsell of War according to the nature of his offence & place, wherein I commend him, & I conceiue it may be granted him, but if his commission be so full as we heare by those of ours which haue seen it, vizt. as full power for the exercise of marshall discipline by sea & land over his company as any Generall on the shore or Admirall on the seas, it will soone be ended.*

Their purpose is yet unknown to them selues, in that one of their prises holds being unbroke up, but cannot be so little worth, as some of their soberest men report, as fifty thowsand pownds. And thus much for news at present, their deboist† humor being well blunted before they come to you, for which you are beholden to us, & the people from

* An account of this affair is given by Bradford, in his History of Plymouth Plantation; and also by Winthrop. — *See Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii. 4th ser. p. 441; *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, ii. 263. — Eds.

† Debauched, riotous. — Eds.

desperate rudenes become civill in a pretty measure, & now as wary, as prodigall at their first landing. Many of our worser sort of people which could endure their cursing etc. getting well by them, but the better sort very little, for they want little or nothing which the Countrey hath, but wine, which they begin to be weary off.

Your debitor Cole I suppose is now well able to pay, if you put him in minde of it, having taken at lest 200*li* as is supposed of them.

The bearer heerof being an industrious & well affected young man desired me to entreate you to further him in a seeming just demand: he being lately married, it seems there is one Samuell Crum, a wine cooper, lately come from sea, & a kinsman of his wiues, that is departed this life with you. Whereupon in his wiues behalfe he desireth letters of administracon, he having no other kindred so neerly allied in the countrey, & therefore I pray you shew him all lawfull favor. His name is James Waker, & I shall take any kindnes to him as done to my selfe, & therefore I beseech you, being he is a stranger & young, put him in some cowrse to accomplish it.

I trust when Mr. Dudley goeth to Mr. De Alney* he will put an end also to our controuersie with him, & make but one worke of both. But I shall impart it to our Governour† &c. Thus saluting you & yours hartily, take leaue & remaine

Yours as euer

Edw: Winslow.

Plym. this 4. (4.) 46.

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* See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 259, 260. — Eds.

† Bradford. — Eds.

EDWARD WINSLOW TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored ffriend Joh. Winthrop Esqr. Governour of the Massachusetts, at his howse at Boston, these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — I was sorry to see you so much disturbed & trowbled in your spirit (as appeared by your last to our Governour) at our proceedings with goodman Cheesborow: * & so also at some passage aboue the rest in our general letter to you, when as nothing is more ordinary then for yours to come to us, & ours to you, & all without offence on our part: and I assure you, to me it is indifferent, & I thanke God I rejoyce as well in your prosperity as our owne: & with all good conscience can say I sympathise with you in every condicon. And if at any time difference doe arise, it is not without great griefe of spirit; & therefore far be it from me to consent to his sensvre because he brought your letters etc., but the truth is hearing both sides speake (which you did not) I beleeve things are far otherwise then as they were presented to you: but this I am sure, in mine owne opinion (which is but weake) he was favorably dealt with, yea so favorably as lesse could not stand with his personall safety, in respect of revenge & the weale publick of the Country, in this uncertaine season. But I leave the answere of yours to our Governour who I suppose will fully satisfie.

The mayne occasion of my writing (besides the whetting of, & quickening of our affeccions towards each other) being partly to condole the evill that I long feared concerning Gorton, for want of some due course & able person to prosecute it, to informe against him & render a reason of your proceedings with him & the rest, well knowing how potent a ffriend he was sure to finde, & I

* See Plymouth-Col. Records, ii. 103. — Eds.

pray God the same his friend prove not otherwise to you & vs, but I feare, I feare, onely heerein I rest, he can act no more then God hath determined; yet becawse the relacon I haue is possibly imperfect, I could be glad if time will permit to receive a word about it from you. A 2d thing which moved me to put pen to paper is to entreat you to be better prepared, (at least to staue off prejudice against your Government in the Committee of Parliament) in regard of the peticoners & many others who are very busie, who not onely threaten us as well as you, but grossly abuse us & insult & boast as if the victory were attayned before the enterprise is begun if I may so say: ffor I confesse I received a very proud letter lately, which makes me feere things are not to begin: but I will not mencon any particulars in it at present, but leaue it till God bring us together, when you shall also see my answer to it. If you say; twill be time enough to answer when we are accused, & we shall not be condemned before we are heard? Tis true; but if prejudice once take place in their bosoms it will be hardly rootted out, when it may be easily prevented by right informacon of such men of wisedome & cowrage as may be sent. The common error alwaies entreate such persons as haue busines of their owne to carry them over to doe some what in the publick busines: but this busines will appeare to be of such consequence if well weighed as your ablest men may not escape it, neither must you stand upon the charge. If you doe I conceiue you will also too late repent it. But I am over bold with you I confes, onely tis my loue to your State which sets me aworke, & *ergo* hope the same affeccon in you will cover my infirmity. But it may be you will say, I hope you of Plymouth will be well provided &c. Truly Sir I feare no, & therefore presse the harder vpon you; not that we intend to trowble you with our busines, who know not our proceedings, *ergo* not capable of making defence for us: but &c. & we are so many (since we followed your example in one particular,

which we too late repent,) to consult, as tis very hard for any to say what will be done, tho' he should know what is most wholsome for us. And *ergo* it much concernes vs to be instant at the Throne of grace, that our all ordering God would set vs in a right way: which the Lord in much mercy grant to you & us. Thus saluting you & yours, with all my honored ffriends with you, take leaue & remaine

Yours till death EDW: WINSLOW.

JUNE ult. 1646.

I should be glad to heare how your sonne Mr. Joh. Winthrop, my deare ffriend, proceedeth in his plantacon at Pecoatt. I pray you when you write to him salute him from me.

Sir, When you haue done with your bookes of news I should take it very kindely to haue the perusing of some of the chiefest of them, & returne them if you desire it.

LETTERS OF ROGER WILLIAMS.*

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For the right Worshipfull John Wintrop Esq. Governor of the English in the Massachusetts.

PLYMOUTH.†

MUCH HONOURD & BELOVED IN CHRIST JESU, — Your Christian acceptation of our cup of cold water is a blessed cup of wine, strong & pleasant to our wearied spirits. Only let me craue a word of explanation: among other pleas for a young councellour (which I feare will be too light in the ballance of the Holy One) you argue from 25 in a Church Elder: tis a ridle as yet to me whether you meane any Elder in these New English churches, or (which I belieue not) old English, — disorderly functions, from whence our Jehovah of armies more & more redeemed his Israell, — or the Levites who served from 25 to 50, Numb. 8., 24; or my selfe but a child in euery thing, (though in Christ called, & persecuted euen in & out of my fathers howse these 20 yeares), I am no Elder in any church, no more nor so much as your worthy selfe, nor

* Roger Williams, the founder of the Colony of Rhode Island, arrived at Boston, Feb. 8, 1630–1; and, after a few weeks' residence there, accepted an invitation from the church of Salem to succeed Higginson as their teacher. Becoming obnoxious to the Government, he removed, about August of that year, to Plymouth, where he resided for two years; returning to Salem about August, 1633. Failing to commend himself to the favor of the Government of Massachusetts, an order for his banishment was passed, Sept. 3, 1635. He is supposed to have left Salem about January, 1635–6; and to have become settled at Providence about June following. He died at Providence in 1683. — *See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 41; *Mass. Colonial Records*, i. 160. — EDS.

† Written during Williams's residence at Plymouth, between August, 1631, and August, 1633. The reference, in the postscript, to Nowell's resigning the office of ruling elder, shows that Williams is writing about July, 1632. — EDS.

euer shall be, if the Lord please to graunt my desires that I may intend what I long after, the natiues soules, & yet if I at present were, I should be in the dayes of my vanitie neerer vpwards of 30 then 25 ;* or whether Timothie or Titus be in thought &c., at your leasure I craue interpretation. Sorry I am since Rationalls so much circumround & trouble you, that *bestiale quid* (& mine especially) should come neere you: but since the Lord of heaven is Lord of earth allso, & you follow him as a deare child, I thanckfully acknowledge your care & loue about the cattell, & further entreate if you may (as you give me incouragement) procure the whole of that second, & let me know how, & how much payment will be here accepted, or in money in England. The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit, & your dearest one, & mine, in their extremities. To you both & all the Saints our due remembrances.

Yours in all vnfeyned & brotherly affections

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The brethren salute you.

You lately sent musick to our eares, when we heard you perswaded (& that effectually & successfully) our beloved Mr. Nowell to surrender vp one sword: & that you were preparing to seeke the Lord further; a dutie not so frequent with Plymmouth as formerly: but *Spero meliora.*

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* If Williams here intends to say that he is, at the time of writing (1632), "upwards of thirty" years of age, it would favor the tradition, that he was born in 1599, rather than in 1606, according to the opinion of Dr. Elton. The statement in this letter, that the writer had been "persecuted in and out of" his "father's house these twenty years," strongly corroborates this view; and all is confirmed by another declaration of his in a letter published by Backus, often quoted, dated 21st July, 1679, where he says he is "now near to fourscore years of age." — *See Elton's Life of Roger Williams*, pp. 9–13; and compare *Arnold's Hist. of R. Island*, i. 47–50; *Backus's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 421. — EDS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[*torn*] *much honoured Mr.* [*torn*] *Wintrop Deputie Governor these.*

Much honoured Sir, — The frequent experience of your loving eare, ready & open toward me (in what your conscience hath permitted) as allso of that excellent spirit of wisedome & prudence wherewith the Father of Lights hath endued you, embolden me to request a word of private advise with the soonest convenience, if it may be, by this messenger.

The condicion of my selfe & those few families here planting with me, you know full well: we haue no Pattent: nor doth the face of Magistracie suite with our present condicion. Hietherto, the masters of ffamilies haue ordinarily mett once a fortnight & consulted about our common peace, watch, & planting; & mutuall consent hath finished all matters with speede & peace.

Now of late some young men, single persons (of whome we had much neede) being admitted to freedome of inhabitation, & promising to [be] subiect to the orders made by the consent of the howseholders, are discontented with their estate, & seeke the freedome of vote allso, & æqualitie, &c.

Beside, our dangers (in the midst of these dens of lyons) now especially, call vpon vs to be compact in a civill way & power.

I haue therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbours a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly craue your helpe.

The first concerning our selues, the masters of families: thus,

We whose names are here vnder written, late inhabitants of the Massachusetts, (vpon occasion of some difference of conscience,) being permitted to depart from the limits

of that Pattent, vnder the which we came over into these parts, & being cast by the Providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countriemen amongst the barbarous in this towne of New Providence, doe with free & ioynt consent promise each vnto other, that, for our common peace & wellfare (vntill we heare further of the Kings royall pleasure concerning our selues) we will from time to time subiect our selues in actiue or passiue obedience to such orders & agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present howseholders, & such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same priviledge & covenant in our ordinarie meeting. In witnes whereof we herevnto subscribe, &c.

Concerning those few young men, & any who shall hereafter (by your favourable connivence) desire to plant with vs, this, —

We whose names are here vnder written, being desirous to inhabite in this Towne of New Providence, doe promise to subiect our selues in actiue or passiue obedience to such orders & agreements as shall be made from time to time, by the greater number of the present howseholders of this Towne, & such whome they shall admit into the same fellowship & priviledge. In witnes whereof, &c.

Hietherto we chose one, (named the officer,) to call the meeting at the appointed time: now it is desird by some of vs that the howseholders by course performe that worcke, as allso gather votes & see the watch goe on, &c.

I haue not yet mencioned these things to my neigbours, but shall as I see cause vpon your loving councell.

As allso since the place I haue purchased, 2ly, at mine owne charge & engagements, the inhabitants paying (by consent) 30*s* a piece as they come, vntill my charge be out for their particular lots: & 3rdly, that I never made any other covenant with any person, but that if I got a place he should plant there with me: my quære is this, —

Whither I may not lawfully desire this of my neigh-

bours, that as I freely subiect my selfe to common consent, & shall not bring in any person into the towne without their consent: so allso that against my consent no person be violently brought in & receaued.

I desire not to sleepe in securitie & dreame of a nest which no hand can reach. I cannot but expect changes, & the change of the last enemie death, yet dare I not despise a libertie, which the Lord seemeth to offer me, if for mine owne or others peace: & therefore haue I bene thus bold to present my thoughts vnto you.

The Pequts heare of your preparations &c., & comfort themselues in this, that a witch amongst them will sinck the pinnaces, by diving vnder water & making holes &c., as allso that they shall now enrich themselues with store of guns, but I hope their dreames (through the mercie of the Lord) shall vanish, & the devill & his lying sorcerers shall be confounded.

You may please, Sir, to take notice that it is of maine consequence to take some course with the Wunnashowatuckoogs & Wusquowhananawkits, who are the furthermost Neepnet men, for the Pequts driven from the sea coast with ease, yet there secure & [str]engthen themselues, & are then brought downe so much the neerer to you. Thus with my best respects to your loving selfe & Mrs. Wintrop, I rest

Your Worships vnfeigned, praying to meete you in this vale of teares or hills of mercie aboue,

R: Williams.*

* This letter, which bears no date, was written, it will be perceived, after a brief residence of Williams and his few companions at Providence. They had become established there, it is supposed, about June, 1636. The letter is addressed to Winthrop as *Deputy*-Governor; which office he held for the political year ending May 17, 1637; on which day he was again elected Chief-Magistrate. The reference to the preparations against the Pequots may refer to Endecott's expedition, which sailed 24th or 25th August, 1636, with three pinnaces and two shallops. This letter is interesting, as affording, perhaps, the earliest account extant of the way in which the civil affairs of the little community at Providence were conducted at its first settlement. Of the agreements, or "subscriptions," which Williams here has thoughts of propounding to his neighbors, the second only is extant among the records of the town of Providence. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO HENRY VANE, OR TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Governor or Mr. Deputie Governor, these with speede.

This last of the present weeke in the morning.*

Sir, — Miantunnomu with a great traine arrived the same day that Anthony Dike departed hence with his sad tidings, & confirmeth with the most the report of Anthony. The Nanihiggonsicks are at present doubtfull of realitie in all our promises: I haue alleadged the best arguments I haue heard or could invent, to perswade realitie of purpose & speedie performance, as allso reasons of delay. Miantunnomu & his best Councell here with him, haue requested me earnestly to make this proffer to you. The Pequts are scarce of provision, & therefore (as vsually so now especially) they are in some numbers come downe to the sea side (& 2 Ilands, by name Munnawtawkit & Manittuwond especially) to take sturgeon & other fish, as allso to make new fields of corne, in case the English should destroy their fields at home.

Miantunnomu desires to goe himselfe with one Wequash† here at present with him, in this pinnace here left by Anthony, or any other that shall take him in at the Nanhiggonsick.

He will put in 40 or 50 or more as the vessell will stow.

He will put in vitailes himselfe for his men. He will direct the pinnace to the places, & in the night land his men, despoile them of their canowes, cut of the men he

* Perhaps May, 1637, while Vane was Governor, and Winthrop Deputy-Governor; and before the annual election on the 17th of that month. — Eds.

† The Pequt of whome I haue formerly writ. — [Williams's.] Wequash was the guide of Mason, who led the attack on the Pequot fort on the morning of the 26th May, 1637. — Eds.

finds (the greatest number being women & children, which for the most of them he would cut of) as allso spoile their fields: & this he proffers to doe without landing an English man, with whome he will remaine aboord in English cloths which he desires for himselfe.

John, a seaman aboord, calls the Iland Plum Iland, & is very willing to goe on the designe, & thincks, as allso Miantunnomu doth, that if within 2 or 3 dayes they went forth, they would be here againe within 4 or 5 or less.

Sir, for my selfe I dare not advice: but if my thoughts be asked I shall (with all due submission) say this: —

It will at present wedge them in from any starting aside vntill your forces shall follow.

If they speede it will weaken the enemie & distresse them, being put by their hopes: as allso much enrage the Pequts for euer against them, a thing much desirable.

Beside, the charge or danger of the English will be none, vnless Miantunnomues course cloths & a large coate for Wequash the Pequt guide, a man of great vse. The Most Holy & only Wise be pleased to smile vpon the face of the English that be his: (we haue all, if euer, cause to examine our selues, our errands & worck) in the face of Jesus Christ.

While I write a Messenger is come to Miantunnomu from Neepemut, reporting a farr greater slaughter then that Anthony brought word of, & since the for[mer] a great number at the Plantacions, & some persons are mencioned, but I will not name either, but hope & long to heare it countermanded.

In case that Anthony or other seamen can not be gotten suddenly, here is one with vs willing to make vp a third man, (to the other 2 left with the pinnace), to carrie the vessell, though I iudge Anthony himselfe the fittest.

Sir, Miantunnomu desird me to giue you a hint that

the 6 fathom of beades which he gaue for the slaying of Audsah be repaid him, & sent now if it may be, his warrs keepe him bare.

Your worships vnfaignedly respectiue

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For any gratuities or tokens Caunonicus desires sugar; Miantunnomu powder. My humble respects to all my loving friends.

Sir, Miantunnomu is close in this his proiect, & therefore I thinck the messenger is sent only for the beades: it is very convenient that Miantunnomues cloths & Wequash his coate be sent by him.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

NEW PROVIDENCE
this 6th of this present weeke, toward midnight.*

SIR, — By John Throckmorton I was bold to advertize of the late mercifull successe it hath pleased the Father of Mercies to vouchsafe to the first attempts of our countrimen against these barbarous.

After his departure toward you I went over to the Nanhiggonsick, partly for intelligence & partly to encourage the Nanhiggonsicks in case the sad newes of all their men & yours defeated were true.

I found the first newes of the cutting of the whole Fort of the Pequts at Mistick to be certaine & vnquestionably true, as I sent, with litle or no variation, of which hereafter.

The newes of the cutting of 3 hundreth Nanhiggon-

* Probably Friday, 2d June. The attack upon the Pequot fort was on the morning of Friday, in the preceding week, 26th May, 1637. — *See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 225. — EDS.

sicks & all the English held still for currant & confirmed that they were opprest with multitudes, their provision being spent & the English wanting powder & shot & the Nanhiggonsicks arrowes.

I gaue the best reasons I could to perswade that they were all either gone togeather to Qunnihticut for provision, or vpon some second assault vpon the other of the Pequt Forts.

As allso I was bold to promise (in Mr. Governours name) that allthough all these or more were cut of, yet there should be fresh supplies of the English who would never sheath their swords, &c.

This 5th day past toward night I haue receaved tidings (blessed for euer be the Lord of Hosts) that the Nanhiggonsicks are all came safe home yesternight, (at noone I came from thence), & brought word that the English were all safe, but the first 3 slaine at the Fort with 2 of their owne.

As allso that indeede they fought thrice that day of their first victorie with no losse of their side, & with the losse of 2 Pequts more.

That themselues & the English prepard next day after for their other Forts, found all fled, made themselues lords of one, in which both English & Nanhiggonsicks now keepe.

That Maumanadtuck one of their biggest, with great troops, (as before he gaue out he could) is gone to Wunnashowatuckqut (the further Neepmucks.)

That Sasacous said he would to Long Iland, & thither is gone or hid in the swampes, but not a Pequt is to be found.

That Miantunnomu is come from Pequt to Nayantaquit, & was resolued homeward to send out to Wunnashowatuckqut where the enemie shelters & haue Forts.

Now Sir, considering the worck is effected (through the mercie of the most High) in these parts, & that the Qun-

nihticut English, togeather with Capt. Patrick & his, are sufficient to mainteine what they haue gotten, & pursue Sasacous in all his motions thereabouts: I conceaved (with submission) that it might saue the countrey no small charge, & hazard, & losse, timely to advertize & give intelligence.

The Wunnashowatuckoogs & Pequts with them are about the distance from you that we are: on them I conceaue & vnderstand the Nanhiggonsicks next fall.

If you see cause & grounds to make a stop for a day or 2, if the Lord please, the 2nd day or 3d of the next weeke I hope to acquaint you with Miantunnomues & Caunonnicus their advice & desire, which it may be will be to meete his companies at the hither Neepmucks & none to come this way, or some the one way & some the other. This morning I goe over (if the Lord please) to consult with them, hoping to be at home (if possible) to morrow evening, & so to dispatch some messenger the 2nd in the morning.

Sir, your late message to the Neepmucks (through the Lords mercy) hath wrought this effect, that whereas they staggerd as nevters, they brought this present weeke divers basketts of their nokehick & chesnuts to Canounicous towards his wars.

Sir, I vnderstand that the cause why the English hurt so many of the Nanhiggonsicks, was want of signes or marcks. You may please therefore to prouide some yellow or red for their heads: the Qunnihticut English had yellow but not enough.

Thus beseeching the God of Peace to be at peace with vs, that all the fruit may be the taking away of our sinn, (which if not removed will vnstop worse vialls) to guid your consultations & prosper your expeditions to the prayse of his owne most holy name, I rest

Your worships faythfull & affectionate in all civill bonds ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir for the young man that accompanyes my man, the countrey may please to recompence his time, or I shall.

Our best respects to Mrs. Wintrop & all your & our loving friends.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

*For his much honoured Mr. Governour these. Mr. Stoughton or Capt. Traske, on their way, may please to reade this.**

New Providence this 4th of the weeke, *mané.*†

Sir, — John Gallop (blessed be the Lord) is safely arrived at our dores, & hath brought from the Lord & you a mercifull refreshing to vs. He be graciously pleased to recompence it a thoughsand fold to the whole land & yourselues especially.

He relates that there is now riding below 3 pinnaces, (the names of the masters Quick, Jiglies & Robinson,) & the 2 Shalops, as allso that the other, whereof —— Jackson of Salem is master, was in company with them the night before, & waighed anchor togeather, but being not able to turne about was faigne to chop to an anchor againe, but they hope is in by this time.

Sir, I heare our loving friends, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Traske &c. are on their way, & 160 (the intended number)‡ with them. I hope the continuance of the number will be seasonable, if not for pursuit of Sasacous & the Pequts, (of whome it is said that they are gone farr & finally,) yet for the quelling of their confederates the Wunnashowatuckoogs & Monashackotoogs &c, who liue neerer to you on the westward, &c. Some 200 of these

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* It was perhaps thought that the bearer of this letter might meet these persons "on their way" to join their Connecticut allies. — Eds.

† June, 1637. In the latter part of this month, Stoughton had arrived at Pequot River with about one hundred and twenty men. See Mason's Hist. of the Pequot War, p. 14. — Eds.

‡ See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 222. — Eds.

(since the slaughter at the Fort) came in revenge vpon the Nanhiggonsicks: which the Nanhiggonsicks themselues knew not till three Pequts (now fallen to them) related it: for it pleased the Lord to send a great mist that morning that they durst not fight, & so returned: so that there is cause to take some course with them, & especially if it be possible for the clearing of land passage to Qunnihticut.

I vnderstand it would be very gratefull to our neighbours that such Pequts as fall to them be not enslaved, like those which are taken in warr: but (as they say is their generall custome) be vsed kindly, haue howses, & goods, & fields given them: because they voluntarily choose to come in to them, & if not receaved will [go] to the enemie or turne wild Irish themselues: but of this more as I shall vnderstand: thus in hast with best salutacions to Mrs. Wintrop & all yours, with my poore desires to the Lord for yours I rest

Your worships vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

My best respects to Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, & other loving friends.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Gouernour these.

New Providence, this 6th instantis.*

Much honoured Sir, — It having againe pleased the Most High to put into your hands another miserable droue of Adams degenerate seede, & our brethren by nature, I am bold (if I may not offend in it) to request the keeping

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* Probably July, 1637. See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 232. — Eds.

& bringing vp of one of the children. I haue fixed mine eye on this litle one with the red about his neck, but I will not be peremptory in my choice, but will rest in your loving pleasure for him or any, &c.

Sir, Capt. Patrick giues me a hint of the likely returne of most of youer forces (Sasacous & about a score of men with him & other companies, 4 score in one, surviving,) I shall humbly propound whether it be not considerable, that better now then hereafter the pursuit be continued.

1st, Because it may stop a conglutination betweene them and the Mowhauogs, which longer time is like to make.

2ndly, Longer time will put many opportunities of occasionall revenge into their hand, as we see in the 3 last cut of vpon Qunnihticut river, after the fort cut of.

Capt. Patrick allso informes me of a great itch vpon the souldiers to fall fowle vpon our neighbours. Litle sparkes proue great fires. The God of Peace who is only wise be pleased to guide vs. Capt. Patrick confesseth that they were the chiefe actors in the last captiues, & had taken all by a wile & slaine 2 before the English came. I heare no speech at present about inæqualitie, but content & affection toward vs.

I much reioice that (as he sayth) some of the chiefe at Qunnihticut (Mr. Heynes & Mr. Ludlow,) are almost averse from killing women & children. Mercie outshines all the worckes & attributes of him who is the Father of Mercies, vnto whome with earnest supplications for you & yours I rest Your worships vnfained

Roger Williams.

My best respects to good Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, & theirs.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

New Providence this 2nd 7næ.*

Sir,— Concerning your prisoners taken at Block Iland† I haue informed the Sachims of your care not to iniure them & desire to haue them cleared; accordingly Cutshamaquene (now come from pursuing Sasacous who is fled Southerly, farr out of reach) I say he hath receaued testimonie from the Sachims Princes that they are Nayantaquit men, (Wepiteammocks men) & so all are Nanhiggonsick men, & so indeede Sir I had thought to send you word at this present, had not I receaued your letter, for it was continually affirmed to me for truth by all the Nanhiggonsick men occasionally being here.

Sir, the last messenger that caried letters from you to Pequat, related to the Sachims at Nanhiggonsick, that you were displeased that the captiues brought to the [Bay la]tely were taken by the English from the Nanhiggonsicks, as allso the spoile vpon them, which was giuen to the English souldiers. I haue answered that I thinck it was not so, but I shall vnderstand the truth shortly; & therefore, Sir, be pleased in your next to intimate a word, that I may satisfie them, for though I would not feare a jarr with them yet I would fend of from being fowle, & deale with them wisely as with wolues endewed with mens braines.

The last weeke is a battell fought betweene the hither Neepmucks & and the further, the Wunnashowatuckoogs &c. the successe is not yet knowne: it will be of consequence, for it is said they fortifie, ioyning with scattered Pequts.

Sir, The last day of the weeke Wequash the Pequt guide

* 2nd septimanæ; that is, the second day of the week, or Monday. Probably July 10, 1637. See notes on p. 202. — Eds.

† See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 232. — Eds.

neere hand, slue his country man Sassawwaw, a Pequt, allso Miantunnomues speciall darling, & a kind of Generall of his forces. There was yesterday some tumult about it because Wequash liues with Canounicus, & Miantunnomu pursues the revenge & justice, &c.

By the way although Wequash it may be haue treacherously allmost slaine him, yet I see the righteous hand of the most High Judge, thus: Sassawwaw turnd to the Nanhiggonsicks & againe pretends a returne to the Pequts, gets them forth the last yeare against the Nanhiggonsicks & spying advantage, slue the chiefe Pequt Captain & whips of his head, & so againe to the Nanhiggonsick: their treacheries exceede Machiavills &c.

Sir, Capt. Stoughton left sick at my house one souldier, a Boston man Tho: Roberts, his master is absent, & Mr. Harding hath charge of him. I haue sent to him &c. The man was neere death. Through the Lords mercy my wife hath gott him vpon his legs, though very weake, only his hearing is quite gone, & I should be glad to receaue any helpe for him in that great losse. So with my respectiue salutacions to Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, yours & theirs, & other loving friends & my poore sighes to heauen to meete you there if not here below, I rest

Your Worships vnworthy yet vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his most honou[red] Governour these. The second letter.

New Providence 2ndo Septimanæ.*

Sir, — In the morning I wrote by John Throckmorton, what I heard & thought in generall. It hath pleased the Lord now this afternoone to send this messenger, (Assote-

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* Probably written on the same day with the preceding letter. See address. — Eds.

muit) with varietie, & plentie, & strangenes of newes & tidings, I hope true, & for ought I can discerne, true, blessed be the holy name of the most High, who breakes the bow & cuts the spear &c. Psal. 46.

This man was sent this morning from Miantunnomu & Caunounicus (as I conceaue allso from all their chiefs in councell) with charge to bring relacion to my selfe of what hath lately happened amongst the Pequts: as allso that with my letter he should make speede to your selfe with tidings.

He relates that a Pequat man & some 5 Pequt women came 2 dayes since to the Nanhiggonsick, & with their ordinary submission begd their liues, & libertie to declare in the name of many others what had happened amongst them: before that Pequt came one squaw, & a second came, but was questioned much for their truth, but vpon the comming & report of the old Pequat, he saith, they all take his report for true.

This man himselfe, Assotemuit, is a noted messenger from the Sachims, & one whome Miantunnomu hath commended to me for an especiall messenger from him.

This Pequot & the women report that (as I allso heard before) all the Pequts were assembled some 10 dayes since with Sasacous in councell: some perswaded to fight & fall first vpon the Nanhiggonsicks (this allsow I heard before) the greater part dissented & were for remoovall: Sasacous & about 4 score resolved for Mauquowkit, alias Waukheggannick, where the men eaters are; a hundreth more for Long Iland; another company, the least, for Qunnihticut, some part of it, with purpose to take finall leaue of their countrey. 70 men, women, & children, (of men betweene 20 & thirtie,) resolved for the Nanhiggonsicks to beg their liues &c.

Sasacous & his company were wroth with these resolved for the Nanhiggonsick, & a skirmish past betweene them where some were wounded, but away they got, &

each company packt vp & departed their intended iourneyes.

Miantunnomu sent word to this company remayning in the mid way betweene Pequatit & Nayantakick, that he was in leauge with Mr. Governour, & therefore of himselfe would say nothing, but desired them there to rest (at Cuppunaugunnit) in the mid way, vntill he sent to Mr. Governour, & what he said that he would assent vnto.

They tould Miantunnomu that they had brought 3 guns with them. He sent the women for the guns, who fetcht them from that place, Cuppunnaugunnit, & there they are with him. Only he claimes a promise of one to himselfe, which he desires may be out of these 3, as allso some powder & shot to it, as indeede was promised.* I haue much laboured with this man to find, if it were possible, any deceit or falsehood, but as he himselfe & the Sachims question not the Pequt man & women, so I can not question him.

I aske him (in discourse) what he thincks were best to be done, he answereth that as Miantunnomu himselfe when he sent to Canounicus to speake his minde, & Caunounicus refusing sent to him to speake first, Miantunnomu would say nothing, but would say as Mr. Governour said so himselfe would likewise say nothing. Yet in discourse I fisht out divers hints of their owne desire & good liking.

As first, that there is not amongst these any Sachim or any of those who were murtherers of the English; if there were they should die.

2ndly, That if Mr. Governour were so minded, they incline to mercy & to giue them their liues: & I doubt not but your owne breasts are farr more tender, like the mercifull Kings of Israell.

3rdly, That divers more beside these remaine in the

* When Mr. Vane was Governour.—[Williams's Note.]

woods, & resolve to come in & submit if these be accepted.

4. For the disposing of them, I propounded what if Mr. Governour did desire to send for some of them into the Bay; leaue some at the Nanhiggonsick & so scatter & disperse them: this he liked well, that they should liue with the English & themselues as slaues. I then propounded that if they lived amongst the English or themselues, they might hereafter be false to the English &c., & what if therefore they were appointed & limited to liue vpon Nayantacawnick or some other Iland: & this he thought allso well of, if not best, because they were most of them families.

5. That they desire you would please to send some English to take possession of the Pequt countrey & there to inhabite.

6. That for their owne hunting sake, Miantunnomu desires that the English would inhabite that part neerest Qunnihticut, & that Mistick * & thereabout might be free for them. I told him that they might hunt in the woods as they doe at Massachusett & here, notwithstanding the English did generally inhabite: & this satisfied.

7. That they desire the Pequts corne might be enioyed by the English & themselues as Mr. Governour please.

8. That the Wunnashowatuckoogs are also afraid & fled, so that there is hope of a safe passage to Qunnihticut by land.

9. That there is no hope that the Mauquawogs or any other people will euer assist Sasacous, or any of the Pequts, against the English, because he is now as it were turned slaue to beg his life.

If all this be true (as I hope it is) we may all see the God of Heaven delights in mercy & to draw by loue & pitie then by fury & wrath. I hope Sir, now that troubles

* Which is neerest, & where the slaughter was. — [Williams's Note.]

may arise from other parts, his holy Majestie is pleased to quench these neerer fires. He be pleased to confirme this newes, & tune all hearts to his prayses in the ordering of our conversation aright. So I rest praying

Your worships vnfained

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This man relates that yesterday, the Lord's day in the morning, a Pinnace arriued, but he knowes not yet what she is.

I pray Sir forget not to reward this messenger with a coate, as allso some powder for Miantunnomu.

My loving respects to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, & theirs &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Governour these.

THIS 3rd 7æ.*

SIR, — Yesterday by our neigbour Throckmorton I wrote concerning those Nayantaquit men your pinnace tooke. This bearer Jvanemo† (one of the chiefe Sachims of that place & chiefe souldier) came last night with neere a score of his men to enquire after them. He was very desirous of a letter to you: I told him I hoped he would find his men at libertie. He hath brought a musket & a barrell of a leue piece which his men tooke from the Pequts.

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* The third day of the week; probably July 11, 1637. See note following. — EDS.

† Alias "Ninigret," Sachem of Niantick. A portrait of this chief is in possession of the Winthrop Family, from a copy of which (made for the late Lieut.-Gov. Winthrop) an engraving was made for Drake's History of Boston. There is an interesting tradition that the life of John Winthrop, Jr., was once saved by him. Winthrop records the arrival of "Ayanemo" at Boston, on the 12th July, with seventeen men. This was Wednesday. Williams's letter was written on Tuesday, "3rd 7æ" (that is, 3d septimanæ): probably the day before, or July 11. It appears, further on (page 204), that the bearer had returned to Williams by the next "Lord's day;" which fell on the 16th. — EDS.

There was a speach that 3 of these men were Nayantakoogs & one a Pequat: it seemes he is a Pequt borne, but hath long since bene theirs, fallen to them, & done good service in their warrs against the Pequts.

Sir, this Jvanemo is a notable instrument amongst them &c, your wisedome, I know therefore, will lay hold of this his visit, to engage him the more to you.

Thus humbly begging mercies from the God of heaven for you & and yours in all affaires, I rest, in hast,

Your Worships vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

All due respects & salutacions, &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

New Providence, this 15th of the 5th.*

Sir, — For the captiues & bootie, I never heard any of these Natiues question the Acts of the English, only that Natiue who brought letters to you from Capt. Patrick, & was twice at Boston, related so much as I wrote of in my former, at his returne to the Nanhiggonsick, viz, that your selfe should be angry with the English, &c. I met since with him, & he sayth he had it not from your selfe, but an English man at Roxbury. I thought good to cleare your name, & remooue suspicions from Mr. Stoughton, &c.

Wequash is aliue, so is allso the other like to recover of his wound: I never heard that Miantunnomu was displeased with Wequash, for any service to the English, but that Wequash was suspected to deale falsely when he went to hunt for the Pequts at the rivers mouth. Tis true there is no feare of God before their eye, & all the cords that euer bound the Barbarous to Forreiners were

* July, 1637. — Eds.

made of selfe & covetuousnes: yet, if I mistake not, I obserue in Miantunnomu some sparkes of true friendshipp, could it be deepely imprinted into him that the English never intended to despoile him of the countrey, I probably coniecture his friendship would appeare in attending of vs with 500 men (in case) against any forreigne enemie.

The Neepmucks are returned with 3 heads of the Wunnashoatuckoogs, they slue 6, wounded many, & brought home 20 captiues.

Those Inlanders are fled vp toward the Mowhauogs: so they say is Sasacous: our friends at Qunnihticut are to cast a iealous eye at that people; they say (vnles they are belied) that they are to warre with the English, &c.

Truely Sir, to speake my thoughts in your eare freely, I blesse the Lord for your mercifull dealing &c. but feare that some innocent blood cryes at Qunnihticut. Many things may be spoken to proue the Lords perpetuall warr with Amalek extraordinary & misticall; but the 2 Kings, 14, 5. 6, is a bright light discovering the ordinary path wherein to walke & please him. If the Pequts were murtherers (though pretending revenge for Sasacous his fathers death, which the Dutch affirmed was from Mr. Governour) yet not comparable to those treacherous servants that slue their lord & king, Joash K. of Judah, & tipe of Jesus, yet the fathers only perish in their sinn, in the place quoted, &c. The blessed Lambe of God wash away iniquitie & receaue vs graceously.

Thus with best salutes to your loving selfe & yours, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, & other loving friends with them, & dayly cryes to the Father of Merceys for you I rest Your Worships vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

Postscript. — Sir, to yours brought by Jvanemo on the Lords day I could haue litle speech with him; but concerning Miantunnomu I haue not heard as yet of any

vnfaythfullnes towards vs; I know they bely each other; & I obserue our country men haue allmost quite forgotten our great pretences to K. & State, & all the world, concerning their soules, &c. I shall desire to attend with my poore helpe to discover any perfidious dealing, & shall desire the revenge of it for a common good & peace, though my selfe & mine should perish by it: yet I feare the Lords quarrell is not ended for which the warr began, viz. the litle sence, (I speake for the generall that I can heare of) of their soules condicion, & our large protestations that way, &c. The generall speech is, all must be rooted out, &c. The body of the Pequin men yet liue, & are onely remooved from their dens. The good Lord grant, that the Mowhaugs & they & the wh[ole] at the last vnite not. For mine owne part I can [not be] without suspicions of it.

Sir, I thanckfully expect a litle of your helpe (in a way of justice & æquitie) concerning another vn[just] debtour of mine, Mr. Ludlow, from whome allso (in mine absence) I h[aue] much suffered. The good Lord smile vpon you & yours in the face of his annointed.

Your Worships vnworthy R. W.*

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. W:ms about We[quash] & the Neipnetts."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Governour these.

New Providence, 21 of 5th monthe.†

Much honoured Sir, — My vnfaigned loue & respect to your soules eternall comfort, & firme perswation of your levelling at the highest white,‡ haue imboldned me once

* This letter is printed from the original, contained in a collection of miscellaneous papers, among the manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was written in July, 1637. The day on which it is dated (the 15th) was Saturday. The "postscript," acknowledging the receipt of a letter from Gov. Winthrop, by Juanemo, "on the Lord's day," must have been written afterwards; perhaps on Monday. This letter was printed in a former volume of our "Collections," but not in its proper place; and it is here introduced for its connection with the letter immediately preceding. — Eds.

† July, 1637. — Eds. ‡ The mark at which an arrow is shot. — Eds.

more to tell you of some poore though[ts] of mine owne, penned & sent to some friends amongst you; which happily, (if the good Lord so please) may some way conduce to your sowles satisfaction in the midst of all your troubles.

I haue bene long requested to write my grounds against the English preaching, &c. & especially my answers to some reasons of Mr. Robinson's for hearing.

In the midst of a multitude of barbarous distractions, I haue fitted some thing to that purpose: & being not able at present to transcribe the whole; yet having bene long sollicited by Mr. Buckley (from whome I receaved some obiect[ions,)] & by many others, & of late by my worthy friend Mr. Peters, [who had] sight of them, I haue thought good to send so much [as I] haue transcribed, to the hand of my loving friend Mr. Buckly.

Sir, I am bold to give you this intimacion, because in these first loose leaues, handling the state of a Nationall church, from the 38 page I haue enlarged the differences betweene Israell & all other states. I know & am perswaded that your misguidings are great & lamentable, & the further you pass in your way, the further you wander, & haue the further to come back, & the end of one vexation will be but the beginning of another, till conscience be permitted (though erronious) to be free amongst you.

I am sorry my straights are such that I can not transcribe the remaynder, & especially what concernes the matter most concerning your deare selfe, & therein especially the assoiling of some obiections, but if the Lord please I liue, I shall endeavour the rest, & thanckfully receaue any intimacion from your selfe, yea from the least, whereby I might my selfe returne from any wandrings. The Lord Jesus be to you & me the Way, the Truth, & he will be the Life allso. So prayes

Your Worships most vnfained

Roger Williams.

I haue no newes, but from Qunnihticut, the receauing of Sasacous, his present & company by the Mawhauogs, & some promises of theirs to him to setle him againe at Pequt. This weeke Souwonckquawsir, old Sequins sonn, cut of 20 Pequt women & children in their passage to the Mowhauogs, allso one Sachim who 3 yeares agoe was with you in the Bay with a present.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Governour. these.

Much honoured Sir, — I was fearefull that those dead hands* were no pleasing sight (otherwise then a remarkeable vengance had seazed vpon the first murtherer of the English, Wauphanck) yet I was willing to permit what I could not aproue, least if I had buried the present myselfe, I should haue incurd suspicion of pride & wronged my betters, in the natiues & others eyes: I haue alwaies showne dislike to such dismembring the dead & now the more, (according to your desire) in your name.

I was allso fearefull that mine owne hand (having no commission from my heart (which is not in mine hand but in the hand of its Maker, the Most High) to write you ought of mine owne returne in spiritualls) I say fearefull that mine owne might not be so gratefull & pleasing to you: but being calld vpon by your message & your loue, (your paper), I am emboldened.

Concerning the Pequts, the souldiers here related to me that Okace the Mohiganie Sachim had about 300 men with him on Pequt river, some 16 mile from the howse, which I belieue are most of them Pequts & their confederates the Wunnashowatuckoogs & their Inlanders

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* See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 237. — Eds.

(whome he charged vnder paine of death not to come to Canounicus) & with whome he hath made himselfe great. This man is but a litle Sachim, & hath not aboue 40 or 50 Mohiganeucks which as the English told me were all he could make.

It is generally confirmed that Thomas Stanton* (as himselfe allso confest to me at my howse) was grossly cousend & deluded by one Wequashcuck (a Nayantaquit Sachim) who sheltred 4 Pequts Sachims & 60 Pequts at Long Iland where now they are, where peace was made with promise from the natiues not to permit one Pequt: yet Wequashcuck marrying Sasacous his mother hath thus deceaved you. This Wequashcuck was the man (to my knowledge) that sheltred Audsah, the murthrer of Mr. Oldham, & kept his head so long vpon his shoulders: yet to this man Thomas Stanton (as it appeares) did to much listen, slighting, I feare, to much the Nanhiggonsicks.

I find our Neighbours very eager to pursue these 4 Sachims & the 60 Pequts there, I presse them to patience till Mr. Governours mind be knowne, & Miantunnomu (to my knowledge) doth all he can to restreine them, or els long since they had bene there. They plead that Mr. Governour may please to accompanie, or send himselfe against them, but can not by any article in the leauge bind them to suffer so many of their enemies in a knot so neere them.

I presse them to humane consideracion of so much blood spilt, they answere if they haue the Sachims heads they will make the rest Nanhiggonsicks, & for the Long Ilanders themselues & Wequashcuck, they will not medle with them, because of the peace Mr. Stoughton made with them.

Concerning the ketles: Miantunnomu answeres, that

* A resident of Connecticut, who rendered great service as an Indian interpreter. — Eds.

he hath bene much wronged by the reports of enemies & false friends to whom some of vs (as he saith) haue hearkned before himselfe.

He saith he never knew of more then 2, one of which the English vsed at the howse, & the other as he heares is at the Fort still: he sayth he hath many of his owne, & in deede when I came first hiether I saw neere 10 or 12 which himselfe & Canounicus had.

He repaid me with a grievance about a Pequt canow which he desired might be ordred by your owne hearing, but it was denyed him: his plea seemes very faire: thus this brother Yoteash having taken the great Sachim (Puttaquappuonckquame who was kept in the pinnace aliue sometime) tooke his canow, which, sayth he, the English Captaines sitting all togeather were very willing vnto: this canow Mr. Stoughton afterwards brought about homeward: Miantunnomu & his brother claime it: twas denyed: he requested that it might be left at my howse till Mr. Governours mind was knowne. Capt. Stoughton would not yeald, but desired him to go along to me, but sayth he, I would not trust my selfe with him, seing he would not stand to Mr. Governours determination about the canow: I would not haue mencioned this least it might provoke Mr. Stoughton or any: but I know to whome I intimate it: & I haue prettie well appeased the matter allready.

He answeres all I can obiect to him with this: let Mr. Governour haue the hearing of it: I will rest in his word, & obiecting to him in the particular before divers, that the English complaine he was proud, he desired that I would present to Mr. Governour these particulars, that he had cause to mainteine his right, because, the Qunnihticut English equalld Okace & the Mohiganeucks with himselfe & his men.

Whereas sayth he these Mohiganeucks are but as a twig, we are as a great tree.

They fell to the English but last yeare, we haue bene euer friends &c.

Okace & his men had a hand in the death of all the English & fought against the Rivers mouth (at Qunnihticut) we never kild nor consented to the death of an English man.

When the Dutchmen & we fought with the Pequts the Mogianeucks ioyned against vs.

When Capt. Endicot came against the Pequts the Mohiganeucks receaved the Pequt women & children & kept them, while the men fought with him &c.

Okace brought presents to Canounicus, & Miant[unnomu], yet at the same time killd 2 of his women treacherously.

They fell to the English this yeare in feare or other policie, & we, (sayth he) haue continued friendship & loue euer since they landed. Thus he pleaded &c., & yet proud & covetous & filthy they are &c. only I was willing to gratifie him in this, because as I know your owne heart studies peace, & their soules good, so your wisedome may make vse of it vnto others who happily take some more pleasure in warrs: The blessed God of Peace be pleased to giue you peace within, at home, & round about you abroad, So prayes

Your worships vnfainedly respectiue

Roger Williams.

To Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham &c. all respectiue salutacions.

I haue at present returned Rich. Collicuts Pequt girle which Miantunnomu found out, & desired me to send home, with promise of further enquiring.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Williams, 7: 9: 1637."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO RICHARD COLLICUTT.

For his kind friend Mr. Richard Collicut, these.

KIND FRIEND, — I lately wrote vnto you: once when I sent home your boy, & againe when I sent the girle: concerning either of them, if you be minded to put either of them away, I desire to giue you your desire: otherwise I wish you much comfort in the keeping of them.

As I am many wayes indebted, so I haue many debts comming to me. I take it very lovingly that you please to helpe me concerning Mr. Ludlow. I haue accordingly sent you power to deale in it. In 3 respects I request you to be serious & punctuall.

1st, It is now an old debt, especially my cow was mine, left behind 4 yeares agoe for me in Virginia, & some goats.

2ndly, I have requested the last yeare divers to helpe me & gaue them power, but all failed me, so that I shall haue cause to be thanckfull to you aboue others.

3rdly, If his payment like you, I shall request you first to satisfie your selfe, & shall remaine

Yours most vnfained ROGER WILLIAMS.

I shall gladly satisfie not only your charge, but allso your time & paines in dealing with Mr. Ludlow.

[POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM ROGER WILLIAMS TO RICHARD COLLICUT.]

MEMORAND: that I, Roger Williams of New Providence, doe constitute & ordaine Richard Collicut of Dorchester my true & lawfull Atturney, for me & in my name to aske or demaund, sue or arrest, acquit or release George Ludlow of all such summes of money or goods as are due unto me from him. per me ROGER WILLIAMS.

THIS 12th of the 7th mon. (commonly calld) 1637.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured Mr. Governour these.

Sir, — Having vsed many meanes & many Atturnies (in my absence) to recover a debt of Mr. George Ludlow, & fayled by all, & now last of all by Richard Collicut who vndertooke seriously, but comes of weakly in it: let me humbly beg what helpe in a righteous way may be affoorded (now in his departure) to cause him to deale honestly with me who haue many yeares & in many wants bene patient toward him. The debt was for mine owne & wiues better apparell put of to him at Plymmouth. My bills are lost, but his owne hand which the bearer will deliver is testimony sufficient. He hath vsed so many slights & told so many false hoods that sir, if you believe more then you see, I must patiently giue my debt for desperate: howeuer with my best respects to your kind selfe & Mrs. Wintrop, & sighes to heaven for you, I rest

Your Worships vnfaignedly faythfull till death

Roger Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

New Providence, the 2nd of present weeke.*

Much honoured Sir, — I am bold to interpose (in all humble respect) a word or 2 concerning the bearer, Mr. Greene. Being at Salem this last weeke to take order about the sale of his howse, & comming away, an ancient

* Probably Monday, 18th September, 1637. At a Quarter Court held at Boston on the 19th, the bearer of this letter, "Mr. John Greene, of New Providence, was fined 20*l.*, and committed until the fine of 20*l.* be paid, . . . for speaking contemptuously of the magistrates." — *Mass. Col. Records*, i. 203. His fine appears to have been remitted; but see further in Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 256. — Eds.

acquaintance meetes him (Ed. Batter) & questions whether he would come & liue there againe, vnto which he answered, how could he vnles he might enioy the freedome of his soule & conscience. Ed. Batter replied he might so, to which he again replied he knew that could not be, for the power of the Lord Jesus was in the hand of civill authoritie; vpon this came by Mr. Endicot, calls Ed. Batter & questions him (as himselfe related to Mr. Greene) what was their conference: the summe whereof being told, Mr. Endicot warnd Mr. Greene to appeare at this Generall Court.

Sir, for my selfe I have no partiall respect to Mr. Greene nor relation, but of neighbours togeather: only for the better following of peace, (euen when it flies from vs) I am bold to acquaint with passages of truth (as I can not but hope) before hand: I shall grieue much that any molestation or trouble should arise vnto you from hence, or that there be the appearance of any further jarr. Sir, I know to whome I speake. Mr. Endicot had neede haue a true compasse for he makes great way &c: the Father of Lights & Spirits mercifully be pleased to guide all our steerings.

Mr. Greene here, is peaceable, a peacemaker, & a lover of all English that visits vs. I conceaue he would not disturbe peace in relating his judgment to his friend, (if I may so call him) demanding it first allso of him, or els I presume he should not haue heard a word of such matters, if I know Mr. Greene.

Sir, I here yet knot of any of the runnaway captiues amongst our neighbours, yesterday I heard that 2 scapt from them to the Pequt. If any be or doe come amongst them I suppose they shall be speedily returned, or I shall certifie where the default is.

Sir, I desire to be truely thanckfull for the boy intended: his father was of Sasquankit, where the last fight was: & fought not with the English, as his mother (who is with

you & 2 children more) certi[fi]ed me: I shall endeavour his good & the common, in him. I shall appoint some to fetch him, only I request that you would please to giue a name to him.

Sir, concerning captiues (pardon my wonted boldnes) the Scripture is full of mysterie & the old Testament of types.

If they have deserued death tis sinn to spare:

If they haue not deserued death then what punishments? Whether perpetuall slaverie.

I doubt not but the enemie may lawfully be weaknd & despoild of all comfort of wife & children &c, but I beseech you well weigh it after a due time of trayning vp to labour, & restraint, they ought not to be set free: yet so as without danger of adioyning to the enemie. Thus earnestly looking vp to heaven for you & all yours I rest

Your worships vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

My best respect to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honoured Mr. Governour these.

Sir, — Some while since you were pleased to desire me to signifie to the Sachims, the promise of the Block Ilanders to your selues, & therefore their exemption from all other submission & tribute. Their answere was that as they had left them to Mr. Governour formerly vpon Mr. Oldames death, so haue they done since, & haue had no other dealing with them then for the getting of the head of Audsah the chiefe murtherer: as allso that they vnderstand the 100 fathom of beades to be yearely paid to

Mr. Governour, in which respect they haue bene farr from desiring a bead from them, & doe acknowledge them to be wholy Mr. Governour's subiects.

Sir, I heare that there is now at Pequat with the Monahiganeucks one William (Baker I thinck his name is) who was pursued, as is said, by the English of Qunnihticut for vncleanenes with an Indian squaw, who is now with child by him. He hath there gotten another squaw & lies close, vnknowne to the English. They say he came from a trading howse which Plymouth men haue at Qunnihticut, & can speake much Indian. If it be he, when I lived at Plymmouth, I heard the Plymmouth men speake much of his evill course that way with the natiues.

The occasion that our neighbours know of him was this: some 8 dayes since 6 Nanhiggonsick men were comming from Qunnihticut, & by the way fell vpon some Pequts, who were rescued out of their hands by the Monahiganeucks, who allso bound those 6 Nanhiggonsicks many dayes togeather at Monahiganick (vpon Pequat river, where this William was) and spoild them of their coats & what els they had.

The Sachims & the men are greatly incensed, affirming that they can not but revenge this abuse offerd to their men; yet I haue got this promise that they will not doe ought without Mr. Governours advice.

Sir, I haue long heard, & these 6 men affirme, that there are many of the scattered Pequts randevouzed with Okace the Monahiganic Sachim & Wequash the Pequt, who being employed as one of the guides to the English in their late warrs, is growne rich & a Sachim with the Pequts: & hath 5 or 6 runnawayes. There are all the Runnawayes harboured (which vpon long & diligent inquirie) I am certaine & confident of, & can giue good assurance that there is not one amongst all the Nanhiggonsicks.

Mr. Stoughton hath bene long assured that Meiksah,

Canounicus eldest sonn hath his squaw, but having enquired it out I find she was never at the Nanhiggonsicks, but is married to one Meiksomp a Sachim of Nayantaquit, which being neerer to Pequt is more friendly to the Pequts: & where as I heare that Wequashcuck (who long sheltered Audsah & so grossly deluded Tho: Stanton in the late warrs) hath filled many baskets with beades from Pequts Sachims & 120 Pequts which he sheltreth now at Nayantaquit.

Okace the Monahiggon & Wequashcuck were lately at Long Iland, from whence some few dayes since, Okace caried away 40 Pequts to Monahiganick, & Wequashcuck 30 to Nayantaquit.

While I write Miantunnomu is come to my howse & affirmeth the same; professing if I would advise him he would goe over to Mr. Governour to acquaint the Governour that Caunonicus & himselfe haue no hand in these passages. He askes me often if he may safely goe, & I assure him if he haue an honest heart he neede not feare any deceit or treacherie amongst the English: so I thinck within a day or 2 he will be comming towards you.

He tells me what I had not heard that of those Pequts to whome at the first by my hand you were pleased to giue life, but 7 came to them, of which 5 allso long since are gone to Monahiganick.

Sir, I forget not your loving remembrance of me concerning Mr. Ludlowes debt. I yet know not where that tobacco is: but desire if Mr. Cradocks agent, Mr. Jolly, would accept it, that it may be delivered to him in part of some payments for which I haue made over my howse to Mr. Mayhew.

Sir, your servant Repriue lodged here 2 nights, & Miantunnomu tells me that 5 dayes since he lay a night with him & is gone to Block Iland. He is very hopefully improoved since I first saw him: & am bold to wish that he

might now take his last farewell of his friends, to whom you would be rather pleased to giue leaue to visit him at Boston, for you can not belieue how hard it is for him to escape much evill & especially vncleanenes while he is with them. The good Lord be pleased to blesse him to you & to make you a blessing to him & many others. [*Torn*] run headlong (without once hearing of it), in[to] everlasting burnings. So prayes dayly

Your worships vnfaigned R: [Williams].

To Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, & theirs, respectiue salutacions.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, — I acquainted this Indian Miantunnomu,* with the contents of your letter sent by him, who rests well perswaded that if it breake not first with them, the leauge is firme & lasting, & the English are vnfaigned.

I haue bought & paid for the Iland: † & because I desired the best confirmacion of the purchase to your selfe that I could, I was bold to insert your name in the originall here inclosed.

The 10 fathom of beades & one coate you may please at leasure to deliver to Mr. Throckmorton: who will allso be serviceable in the conveyance of swine this way.

Your natiue, Repriue, requests me to write a word for himselfe & another for the Sachim of Block Iland, Jacquontu.

For himselfe he tells me when he departed hence being alone he wandred toward Neepmuck: At Nayantuquit

* Winthrop's History of N.E., i. 243. — Eds.

† Probably Prudence Island, in Narragansett Bay; the deed of which is dated Nov. 10, 1637, — the day on which this letter was written. — Eds.

Jvanemo said he was a spie from Mr. Governour, & threatned to kill him, denied that there was Pequts, saying (though Repriue saw many himselfe) that they were all gone to Monahiganick. So he came back in feare of his life to Wepiteammock (Miantunnomues brother in law) who lent him a canow to Block Iland where he staid but 6 dayes.

From Jaquauntu, Block Iland Sachim, that he is preparing 13 fathom of white, & 2 of blew to present you with about the 1st Month.

That they are greatly in feare of the Nayantaquit men who threaten them, in case the English fall vpon Nayantaquit.

I am glad to see this poore fellow Repriue carefull to please you, for he sayth you gaue him leaue for 28 dayes & though he could stay but 6 dayes where he desired to stay longest, yet he will not lye.

He sayth his brother goes along with him to stay some while, till the spring.

Sir, There are 2 Pequt squaus, brought by the Nanhiggansick, allmost starved; viz: Mr. Coles his natiue, & one guirle from Winisimmit: there was a 3rd (I thinck Mr. Blackstones) who had scapt before to Nayantaquit. I promised these, if they would stay at my howse & not run away, I would write that they might be vsed kindly. The biggest, Mr. Cole his natiue, complaines that she of all the natiues in Boston is vsed worst: is beaten with firesticks, & especially by some of the servants.

The litle one makes no complaint of vsage, but sayth she was inticed by that other squaw, which I thinck was Mr. Blackstones. I asked the biggest, who burnt her & why, she told me Mr. Pen because a fellow lay with her, but she saith, for her part she refused.

My humble desire is that all that haue those poore wretches might be exhorted as to walke wisely & iustly towards them, so to make mercy eminent, for in that at-

tribute the Father of mercy most shines to Adams miserable ofspring.

Sir, I feare I am tædious yet I must craue leaue for a line more: I receaved a letter from some in Charlestowne, (in speciall from one Beniamin Hubbard) intimating his & others desire (with my helpe & furtherance) to be my neighbours in some place neere adioyning: Mr. James hath not declared himselfe to be one, but I guesse he is inclining to accompanye them. On the Nanhiggonsick side the natiues are populous, on the side to Massachusetward Plymmouth men challenge, so that I presume if they come to the place where first I was, Plymmouth will call them theirs. I know not the persons, yet in generall could wish (if it be either with countenance or connivance) that these wayes might be more trod into these inland parts, & that amongst the multitudes of the barbarous, the neighbourhood of some English Plantation (especially of men desiring to feare God) might helpe & strengthen. I shall be thanckfull for a word of advice, & beseeching the Most Holy & only Wise in mercy & goodnes to know & guide the soules of his in this remote willdernes, & in this materiall desart, to discover graciously the misticall where 1200 & 3 score dayes his saints are hid. Revel. 12. I rest

Your Worships, sorry that I am not more yours & neither of vs more the Lords.

R. Williams.

To Mrs. Wintrop all respectiue remembrance.

I shall beg (this winter in some leasure) your helpe with my bad debtours, James & Tho: Haukins, from whome as yet I get nought but words.

10th of 9th.*

* November, 1637. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

20th of the 9th.*

Sir, — I rest thanckfully satisfied in your propounding of my motion to the Court, & the answere. (The earth is Jehovahs, & the plenitude of it.) I am not a little glad that the lot is fallen vpon a branch of that roote, in whose good (present & æternall both of roote & branches) I reioice. For his sake I wish it ground, & grasse, & trees, yet what vse so euer he please to make of it, I desire he would not spare to make vse of me in any service toward the natiues on it or about it.

Miantunnomu in his relations of passages in the Bay with you, thanckfully acknowledges to my selfe & others your loving cariage to him† & promiseth to send forth word to all natiues to cease from Prudence, trees &c. Since your letter I travelled vp to Nayantaquit by land where I heard Repriue was: there the Sachim (to whome he adheres, Wepiteammock) & the people related that he was gone to his wife to Monhiggin: also that he, Wepiteammock, had sent to Onkas advising & vrging their returne, but he could not prevaile, & that if Repriue come within his reach he will send him (though alone without his wife) howeuer.

I travelled to Monhiggin & vnderstood that they were all at Pequt Nayantaquit, but Onkas not being at home (but at Newhaven) I could not doe ought.

Sir, I haue often called vpon your debtour, Joshua, but his ill advisednes of refusing my service & spending of his time vpon a howse & ground hath disabled him. Vpon this occasion of your louing proffer of the halfe of the debt (8*li*) to my selfe, I shall be vrgent with him to seeke

* November, 1637. — Eds.

† See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 243. — Eds.

some course of payment of the whole to your selfe, from whome in recompence of any paines &c., I desire no other satisfaction but your louing & wonted acceptation, yea, although the busines had bene effected. Sir, I had almost bene bold to say my thoughts what I would doe in this case, were the runnawayes mine, but I will not more at present. If you shall please to require account of what my observacion hath taught me, I shall readily yeald it in my next, euer begging mercy & truth to you & yours, & my loving friends with you. The Lord Jesus returne vs all (poore runnawayes) with weeping & supplications to seeke him that was nailed to the gallowes; in him I desire to be (& mourne I am not) more

Your Worships vnfaigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I receaued 6 fathom of beades from Mr. Throcmorton, which though I will not returne, yet I account them yours in my keeping.

Sir, I pray my respectiue remembrance to Mrs. Wintrop.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROVIDENCE 10th of the 11th month.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — It having pleased the Most High to besiege vs all with his white legions, I reioice at this occasion from Qunnihticut (these letters sent to me by Mr. Hooker) that I may here of your wellfare & health, which I wish & beg vnfaignedly of the Lord. Job 38. 23.

Mr. Hooker intimates a report to me that they heare from the Monahiganeucks that Miantunnomu intends Tho:

* Probably January, 1637-8. — EDS.

Stantons death. I haue taken some paines in it, & other passages sent me, finding them slanders: & since (for many good ends &) for keeping a passage open betweene yourselues & Qunnihticut by natiues, summer & winter, a peace is much to be desired betweene the Monahig: & Nanhiggon. I haue proffered my paines in procuring a meeting of the averse Sachims, if it please the Magistrates of Qunnihticut to order Owokace (the Monahig: Sachim) to touch in at the Nanhiggonset mouth, where I hope to get the Nanhiggonset Sachims aboord, & it may please the God of Peace to saue much blood & evill, &c.

Only it behooues our friends of Qunnihticut, as I haue writ to them, to looke to the 2 or 300 Pequts harboured by Wocase the Monahiggen, as allso William Baker of Plymmouth, (of whome formerly I wrote) who is there hid, is turned Indian in nakednes & cutting of haire, & after many whoredomes, is there maried: this fire brand with those Pequts may fire whole townes: I haue intimated how they may with ease take him.

Sir, let me [be] humbly bold to request a favour of you: I am at present destitute of a man servant, & much desire, if you light on one that desires to feare the Lord, remember me. I haue a lustie canow & shall haue occasion to runn downe often to your Iland (neere 20 miles from vs) both with mine owne & (I desire allso freely) your worships swine, so that my want is greatt. I would spare no charge, either out of those beads & coate in your owne hand: the tobacco from Mr. Ludlow, & 8 or 10*li* in James & Tho: Hawkins hand of which I heare not yet.

Sir, If any letters from yourselfe or other friends are for Qunnihticut, I entreate you make hast & speede by this messenger, for I cause 4 natiues who came from Qunnihticut to stay his comming: I haue allready paid him, so that his expectation is not great. Thus longing to heare of your healths, & with earnest & dayly wishes for that peace which this world cannot giue nor take from you, &

my poore wiues & mine owne best salutes to your dearest companion, I rest

Your Worships to my power faythfull

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My due respects to Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, & other loving friends &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloved Mr. Governour these.

PROVIDENCE 28th of the 12th.*

SIR, — Some few dayes since I receaved letters from Mr. Hooker, who had safely receaved your packet with thancks &c.

He intimated that according to Miantunnomues informacion by my selfe, William Baker was hid at Monahiganick, but they had made Okace & Wequash to bring him in. Since which time (Seargeant Homes baling him) he is againe escaped.

He allso signified the desire of the Magistrates at Qunnticut that there the meeting should be: as allso that in the meane season they had charged the Monahiganeucks not to molest any natiues in their passage & travell &c. requiring the same of the Nanhiggonsicks towards the Monahiganeucks.

Accordingly I haue bene since at Nanhigonsick & find Miantunnomu willing to goe to Qunnticut by the time limited, the end of the next month; only first he desired to know Mr. Governour's mind: 2ndly in case his father in law Caunounicus his brother, (whome I saw neere death with aboue a thoughsand men mourning & praying about

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* Probably February, 1637-8. — EDS.

him) in case he recover, otherwise it is vnlawfull for them (as they conceaue,) to goe farr from home till toward mid sommer. 3rdly, he desires earnestly my companie, as being not so confident of the English at Qunnticut, who haue bene (I feare) to full of threatnings: 2ndly he can not be confident of Tho: Stanton's faythfullnes in point of interpretation. These things make me much desire (as I haue written back) that you would both please by some deputed to make my poore howse the center where seemes to be the fairest offer of convenience, & I hope no question of wellcome.

Visiting Caunounicus lately recovered from the pits brinck this winter, he asked how Mr. Governour & the English did, requesting me to send him 2 words: 1st that he would be thanckfull to Mr. Governour for some sugar (for I had sent him mine owne in the depth of the winter & his sicknes). 2ndly he called for his sword, which said he Mr. Governour did send me by you & others of the English, saying Mr. Governour protested he would not put vp his sword, nor would he haue vs put vp ours, till the Pequt were subdued, & yet sayth he at Monahiganick there are neere 300, who haue bound & robd our men (euen of the very covering of their secret parts) as they haue past from Qunnticut hether: after much more to this purpose, I told him that Mr. Governour had promised him to sett all in order this spring.

Sir, I vnderstand that Okace the Monahigon hath Sasacous his sister to wife, & one of the wiues of Sasacous his father Tattaopaine, & thats one reason, beside his ambition & neerenes, that he hath drawne all the scattered Pequts to himselfe & drawn much wealth from them: more I could trouble you with &c.

Caunounicus & Miantunnomu both desired that there might be a division made of these surviving Pequots (except the Sachims & murtherers) & let their share be at your owne wisedome.

I shall be humbly bold to present mine owne thoughts concerning a division & disposall of them: since the Most High delights in mercy, & great revenge hath bene allready taken, what if (the murtherers being executed) the rest be divided & dispersed, (according as their numbers shall arise, & division be thought fit) to become subiect to your selues in the Bay & at Qunnticut, which they will more easily doe in case they may be suffred to incorporate with the natiues in either places: as allso that as once Edgar the Peaceable did with the Welsh in North Wales, a tribute of wolues heads be imposed on them &c. which (with submission) I conceaue an incomparable way to saue much cattell aliue in the land.

Sir, I hope shortly to send you good newes of great hopes the Lord hath sprung vp in mine eye, of many a poore Indian soule enquiring after God. I haue convinced hundreths at home & abroad that in point of religion they are all wandring, &c. I find what I could never heare before, that they haue plenty of Gods or divine powers: the Sunn, Moone, Fire, Water, Snow, Earth, the Deere, the Beare, &c, are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Nanhiggonsicks the names of 38 of their Gods, all they could remember, & had I not with feare & caution withdrew, they would haue fallen to worship, O God, (as they speake) one day in 7, but I hope the time is not long that some shall truely blesse the God of Heaven that euer they saw the face of English men. So waiting for your pleasure & advice to our neighbours concerning this intended meeting for the establishing of peace through all the bowells of the countrey, & beseeching the Most High to vouchsafe his peace & truth through all your quarters, with my due respects to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, &c, I rest

Your Worships in all true respect & affection

Roger Williams.

Sir, I heard no more as yet from Charlstowne men comming this way. Mr. Coxall & Mr. Aspinwall haue sent to me about some of these parts, & in case for shelter for their wiues & children.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Provisions to be sent by the Salem Bark to Mr. Williams & Mr. Throckmorton, Mr. Harlackenden knowes more."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloved Mr. Governour at Boston, these.

PROVIDENCE 16th of this 2nd.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — I kindly thanck you for your loving inclination to receaue my late protestation concerning my selfe, ignorant of Mr. Greenes letter &c. I desire vnfeignedly to rest in my appeale to the Most High in what we differ, as I dare not but hope you doe: it is no small griefe that I am otherwise perswaded, & that some times you say (& I can say no lesse) that we differ: the fire will try your workes & mine: the Lord Jesus helpe vs to make sure of our persons that we seeke Jesus that was crucifyed: howeuer, it is & euer shall be (the Lord assisting) my endeavour to pacifie & allay, where I meete with rigid & censorious spirits, who not only blame your actions butt doome your persons: & indeede it was one of the first grounds of my dislike of John Smith the miller, & especially of his wife, viz. their iudging of your persons as [divells†] &c.

I allso humbly thanck you for that sad relation of the monster‡ &c. The Lord speakes once & twice: he be pleased to open all our eares to his discipline.

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* April, 1638. — EDS.

† The word included in brackets is expunged in the original. — EDS.

‡ Winthrop's account of the "monster" is recorded in his Hist. of N. E., under date of March 27, 1638. — EDS.

Mrs. Hutchinson (with whome & others of them I haue had much discourse) makes her apologie for her concealement of the monster, that she did nothing in it without Mr. Cottons advice, though I can not belieue that he subscribes to her applications of the parts of it. The Lord mercifully redeeme them, & all of vs from all our delusions, & pitie the desolations of Zion & the stones thereof.

I find their longings great after Mr. Vane, allthough they thinck he can not returne this yeare: the eyes of some are so earnestly fixt vpon him that Mrs. Hutchinson professeth if he come not to New, she must to Old England.

I haue endeavoured by many arguments to beate of their desires of Mr. Vane as G: G: & the chiefe are satisfied vnles he come so for his life, but I haue endeavoured to discover the snare in that allso.

Sir, concerning your intended meeting for reconciling of these natiues our friends, & dividing of the Pequts our enemies, I haue ingaged your name, & mine owne; & if no course be taken, the name of that God of Truth whome we all profess to honour will suffer not a litle, it being an ordinary & common thing with our neighbours, if they apprehend any shew of breach of promise in my selfe, thus to obiect: doe you know God, & will you lye? &c.

The Pequts are gathered into one, & plant their old fields, Wequash & Okace carying away the people & their treasure, which belong to your selues: I should be bold to presse my former motion, or else that with the next convenience they might be sent for other parts, &c.

I hope it will never be interpreted that I press this out of feare of any revenge vpon my selfe by any of them. I euer yet (in point of reason to say no more) conceaved this place the safest of the land, & can make it appeare &c, but out of desire to cleare your names & the name of the most High, which will be ill reported of in case

(according to so many promises) an honourable & peaceable issue of the Pequt warr be not established.

Sir, the bearer hereof (not daring either to bring my letter or attend for an answere) I must request you to send your letter to Richard Collicut's, that so a natiue may convey it, or els to Nicholas Vpshall's: & I should be bold humbly to propound to the countrey whether in case there be a necessitie of keeping leauge with the natiues, & so consequently many occasions incident, (& some which I will not write of) as allso a conveniencie of informacion this way, how matters may stand with you on the sea shoare, as I say, whither it be not requisite so farr to dispence with the late order of restraint as to permit a messenger freely.

Tis true I may hire an Indian: yet not alwayes, nor sure, for these 2 things I haue found in them: sometimes long keeping of a letter: 2ndly if a feare take them that the letter concernes themselues they suppresse it, as they did with one of special informacion which I sent to Mr. Vane.

Sir, there will be new Heavens & a new Earth shortly but no more Sea. (Revel. 21. 2.) the most holy God be pleased to make vs willing now to beare the tossings, dangers & calamities of this sea, & to seale vp to vse vpon his owne grounds, a great lot in the glorious state aproaching. So craving pardon for prolixitie, with mine & wiues due respect to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Belingham, &c. I rest

Your worships desirous to be ever yours vnfeigned

Roger Williams.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "2. 16. 1638."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROVIDENCE.*

SIR, — I sometimes feare that my lines are as thick & over busie as the muskeetoes &c., but your wisedome will conniue, & your loue will cover, &c.

2 things at present for informacion.

First, in the affaires of the Most High; his late dreadfull voice & hand: that audible & sensible voice, the Earthquake.†

All these parts felt it, (whether beyond the Nanhiggonsick I yet learne not), for my selfe I scarce perceaued ought but a kind of thunder & a gentle mooving &c, & it was no more this way to many of our owne & the natiues apprehensions, & but one sudden short motion.

The younger natiues are ignorant of the like: but the ellder informe me that this is the 5th within these 4 score yeare in the land: the first about 3 score & 10 yeare since: the second some 3 score & 4 yeare since, the third some 54 yeare since, the 4th some 46 since: & they allwayes observed either plauge or pox or some other epidemicall disease followed; 3, 4 or 5 yeare after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speake).

He be mercifully pleased himselfe to interprete & open his owne ridles, & graunt (if it be pleasing in his eyes) it may not be for destruction, & but (as the Earthquake before the Gaolors conversion) a meanes of shaking & turning of all hearts, (which are his,) English or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord please) the earthquake sensibly tooke about a thoughsand of the natiues in a most sollemne meeting for play, &c.

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* Probably June, 1638. — EDS.

† The first earthquake named by Winthrop, Johnson, Hull, and Bradford, was June 1, as recorded by the three former, and "about the 2d," according to Bradford, 1638. — EDS.

2ndly, a word in mine owne particular, only for informacion. I owe betweene 50 & 60*li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities receaved from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will testifie that (being Mr. Cradocks agent) he was content to take payment, what (& when) my howse at Salem yealded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, & he into Mr. Jollies, who beside my voluntarie act & his attachment since, sues as I heare for dammages, which I question: since I haue not failed against contract & content of the first agent, but the holy pleasure of the Lord be done: vnto whose mercifull armes (with all due respects) I leaue you, wishing heartily that mercie & goodnes may euer follow you & yours.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to your deare companion, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Belingham, & theirs, all respectiue salutes &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & [belo]ved Mr. Governour of Massachusets, these, in hast.

PROVIDENCE this 5th of present weeke.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Blessed be the Father of mercies that once againe I receaued your hand the last night by the messengers by whome I sent.

By them I vnderstand that according as you please to intimate your expectation, Mr. Heynes is come: with Okace, 34 Monahiggins, & 6 Pequts.

One of the 6 Pequts is Pametesick, which was one of the murtherers who cut of the 3 English, going in a boate

* About June, 1638. — See *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, i. 265. — EDS.

for clay vpon Qunnihticut river, after the Fort was cut of. They not only spilt their bloud, but exercised inhumane & tormenting revenge vpon 2 of them, which cries for vengeance to heaven.

So that I refer it humbly to your wisedome whether (although I desire not the destruction of the surviving Pequts, but a safe dispersion of them, yet) the actuall murtherers be not to be surrendred vp, & this Pametesick (I am partly confident this is he) at present apprehended: Our loving friends of Quinnihticut reported that some Monahigganie women were wronged (as their hair cut of &c.) by the Nanhiggonsicks: but Okace knowes it was done by Wequashcuck of Nayantuquit, to whom Okace sent for a Pequt queene. They 2 haue got in the Pequts (though Okace haue the harvest.) Against Wequashcuck Caunounicus or Miantunnomu had long since proceeded, but our loving friends of Qunnihticut interposed: I hope for the best to saue bloud. So beseeching the great Councellour & Prince of Peace to guide your councills, I rest your Worships most vnworthy yet vnfaigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All respectiue salutes, &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloued Mr. John Wintrop at his howse in Boston, these.

PROUIDENCE 23, 5th.*

2 dayes since I was bold to present you with a line, & still (so it pleaseth the most High,) I am occasioned againe to be a constant trouble &c.

These your Worships servants visiting me in their tra-

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* Probably 1638. — EDS.

vell, I enquire after your runnawayes. The man sayth he hath much to relate to your selfe, & wanting vtterance desires me to write. He sayth he hath enquired much after the runnawayes, & vnderstands for certaine that they are all at Monhiggin.

That the flight was long since plotted, for he hath now heard by a Pequot that came from Monhiggin, that the 10 Monhiggins which came to your Worship in the spring to buy one of the maidens, & offered 10 fathom of beades, came from Onkas, who intended that maide for his wife.

That he gaue order to those 10 men, that (in case they could not buy her) they should leaue one man there at your howse, to perswade & worck their escape.

That man was the Pequt Robin* who hath effected his busines, for which (as he heares) Onkas promised him & hath giuen him the 10 fathom of Wompam.

Onkas hath taken the 2 daughters Marie & Jane both to wife, & sayth that now he hath done sending of presents to Massachuset.

Repriue was promised Joane by the Old Squaw for the furtherance of the busines & hath her. He advised their escape by Neepmuck, because once before, escaping through the Narigansett countrey, himselfe was sent back by the Nariganset Sachims.

This man thincks allso that no Indian meanes will be able to effect their returne, but that the English must fetch them. It will be your worships wisedome to forecast so much, & to prepare (Captaine Patrick & many more may be occasioned to fetch theirs allso.) Yet I request your Worships patience a few dayes.

Sir, this young man who comes along, is this woman's nephew, an ingenuous sober fellow, one of my long acquaintance, whome I called Oldway, as his Indian name (Necawnimeyat) signifies; he tells me he hath a good mind

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* Causa Senamut. — [Note by Williams.]

to abide one yeare with these his friends in your worships service. I incourage him & present him to your wisedome & pity, not knowing but that the purpose of the Only Wise & most pitifull God may be toward him for good. Vnto the euerflowing streames of the most holy Fountaine of living waters, (whose drops are able to refresh & saue worlds of wandring soules), I heartily recommend your worship, your dearest companion, & all yours, grieuing that I dare be no more your worships

R: WILLIAMS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROVIDENCE the 24th of the 8th.*

SIR, WORTHY & WELL BELOVED, — I was abroad about the Pequt busines when your letter arived, & since messengers haue not fitted, &c.

I therefore now thanckfully acknowledge your wisedome & gentlenes in receaving so lovingly my late rude & foolish lines: you beare with fooles gladly because you are wise.

I still waite vpon your loue & faythfullnes for those poore papers, & can not but belieue that your heart, tounge, & pen should be one, if I were Turke or Jew, &c.

Your 6 Quæries I wellcome, my loue forbidding me to surmise that a Pharisee, a Sadduce, an Herodian, &c. wrote them; but rather that your loue & pitie framed them as a phycitian to the sick, &c.

He that made vs these soules & searcheth them, that made the eare & eye, & therefore sees & heares I lie not, but in his presence haue sadly sequestred my selfe to

* The date of this and the three following letters is a little uncertain; and they probably are not precisely in order in this place. — EDS.

his holy tribunall, & your intergatories, begging from his throne those 7 fiery lampes & eyes, his holy Spirit, to helpe the scrutinie, desirous to suspect my selfe aboue the old serpent himselfe, & remembring that he that trusteth in his owne heart is a foole. Prov. 28.

While I answere let me ymportune from your loving breast that good opinion that you deale with one (how euer so & so, in your judgment yet) serious, & desirous in the matters of God's Sanctuarie to vse (as the double waights of the Sanctuarie teach vs) double diligence.

Your first Quærie then is this.

What haue you gayned by your new-found practices? &c.

I confess my gaines cast vp in mans exchange are losse of friends, esteeme, maintenance, &c., but what was gaine in that respect I desire to count losse for the excellencie of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: &c. To His all glorious Name I know I haue gained the honour of one of his poore witnesses, though in sackcloth.

To your beloved selues & others of Gods people yet asleepe, this witnes in the Lords season at your waking shall be prosprous, & the seede sowne shall arise to the greater puritie of the kingdome & ordinances of the Prince of the kings of the earth.

To my selfe (through his rich grace) my tribulacion hath brought some consolacion & more evidence of His loue, singing Moses his song & the Lambes, in that weake victorie which (through His helpe) I haue gotten ouer the beast, his picture, his marke, & number of his name, Revel. 15. 2. 3.

If you aske for numbers, the witnesses are but 2: Revel. 11., & how many millions of Christians in name, & thoughsands of Christians in heart, doe call the truths (wherein your selfe & I agree in witnessing) newfound practices?

Gideons armie was 32 thoughsand; but cowardize re-

turned 22 thoughsand back, & 9 thoughsand seaven hundreth worldlings sent but 3 hundreth to the battell.

I will not by prophecye exasperate, but wish (in the black & stormie day) your companie be not less then Gideons, to fight (I meane with the Blood of the Lambe & Word of Witnes) for what you professe to see. Revel. 12. 11.

To your 2nd, viz. Is your spirit as euen as it was 7 yeares since?

I will not follow the fashion either in commending or condemning of my selfe. You & I stand at one dreadfull, dreadfull tribunall: yet what is past I desire to forget, & to press forward towards the marke for the price of the high calling of God in Christ.

And for the euennes of my spirit.

Toward the Lord, I hope I more long to know & doe His holy pleasure only, & to be ready not only to be banished, but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Towards your selues, I haue hietherto begd of the Lord an euen spirit, & I hope euer shall, as

First, reverently to esteeme of, & tenderly to respect the persons of many hundreths of you, &c.

2ndly, To reioice to spend & be spent in any service, (according to my conscience) for your wellfares.

3rdly, To reioice to find out the least swarving in judgment or practice from the helpe of any, euen the least of you.

Lastly, to mourne dayly, heavily, vncessantly, till the Lord looke down from Heaven, & bring all his precious living stones into one New Jerusalem.

To your third, viz. Are you not grieved that you haue grieved so many?

I say with Paul, I vehemently sorrow for the sorrow of any of Zions daughters, who should euer reioice in her King &c., yet I must (& O that I had not cause) grieue, because so many of Zions daughters see not & grieue not

Revel. 5. for their soules defilements, & that so few beare John companie in weeping after the vnfoulding of the seales, which only weepers are acquainted with.

You therevpon propound a 4th, Doe you thinck the Lord hath vtterly forsaken vs?

I answere Jehovah will not forsake His people for His great names sake 1. Sam. 12. That is, the fire of His loue towards those whome once he loues is æternall, like himselfe: & thus farr be it from me to question His æternall loue towards you &c. Yet if you graunt that euer you were as Abraham among the Chaldees, Lot among the Sodomites, the Kenites among the Amalekites, as Israell in Egipt or Babell, & that vnder paine of their plauges & judgments yow were bound to leaue them, depart, flie out, (not from the places as in the type) but from the filthines of their sinns, &c., & if it proue, as I know assuredly it shall, that though you haue come farr, yet you never came out of the wildernes to this day: then, I beeseech you, remember that your selues, & so allso many thoughsands of Gods people must yet mournfully reade the 74, 79, 80, & 89 Psalmes, the Lamentations, Daniells 11th, & Revel. 11, 12th, 13th,* & this, Sir, I beseech you doe more seriously then euer, & abstract your selfe with a holy violence from the dung heape of this earth, the credit & comfort of it, & cry to Heaven to remooue the stumbling blocks, such idolls, after which sometimes the Lord will giue His owne Israell an answere.

Sir, You request me to be free with you, & therefore blame me not if I answere your request, desiring the like payment from your owne deare hand, at any time, in any thing.

And let me add, that amongst all the people of God, wheresoeuer scattered about Babells bancks, either in Rome or England &c, your case is the worst by farr, be-

* All these places & abundant more argue God's forsaking His people in respect of the visible kingdome of the Lord Jesus. — [Note by Williams.]

cause while others of Gods Israell tenderly respect such as desire to feare the Lord, your very judgment & conscience leads you to smite & beate your fellow servants, expell them your coasts &c., & therefore, though I know the elect shall never finally be forsaken, yet Sodomes, Egypts, Amaleks, Babells judgments ought to driue vs out, to make our calling out of this world to Christ, & our election sure in him.

Sir, Your 5th is, From what spirit, & to what end doe you driue?

Concerning my spirit, as I said before, I could declaime against it, but whether the spirit of Christ Jesus, for whose visible kingdome & ordinances I witnes, &c, or the spirit of Antichrist (1 John 4) against whome only I contest, doe driue me, let the Father of Spirits be pleased to search, & (worthy Sir) be you allso pleased by the word to search: & I hope you will find that as you say you doe, I allso seeke Jesus who was nayled to the gallowes, I aske the way to lost Zion, I witnes what I belieue I see patiently (the Lord assisting) in sackcloth, I long for the bright appearance of the Lord Jesus to consume the man of sinn: I long for the appearance of the Lambes wife allso, New Jerusalem: I wish heartily prosperitie to you all, Gouernour & people, in your civill way, & mourne that you see not your pouertie, nakednes, &c., in spiritualls, & yet I reioice in the hopes that as the way of the Lord to Apollo, so within a few yeares, (through, I feare though, many tribulacions) the way of the Lord Jesus, the first & most ancient path, shall be more plainely discovered to you & me.

Lastly, You aske whether my former condicion would not haue stood with a gracious heart, &c.?

At this Quærie, Sir, I wonder much, because you know what sinnes, yea all manner of sinnes, (the sinn vnto death excepted) a child of God may lye in, instance I neede not.

2ndly, When it comes to matter of conscience that the stroke lyes vpon the very judgment, that the thing practiced is lawfull, &c. as the polygamie of the Saints, the building of the Temple (if David had gone on) the many false ministries & ministracions (like the arke vpon the new cart) which, from Luthers times to this day, God's children haue conscientiously practiced. Who then can wonder, (& yet indeede who can not but wonder) how a gracious heart, before the Lords awakening, & calling, & drawing out, may lie in many abominations?

2 Instances I shall be bold to present you with. First, doe you not hope Bishop Vsher hath a gracious heart? & 2ndly, Doe you not iudge that your owne heart was gracious euen when (with the poysoned shirt on your back) you, &c.?

But while another iudgeth the condicion faire, the soule that feares, doubts, & feeles a guilt hath broken bones &c. Now, worthy Sir, I must call vp your wisedome, your loue, your patience, your promise & faythfullnes, candid ingenuitie, &c. My hearts desire is abundant, & exceedes my pen. My head & actions willing to liue (as the Apostle Paul) καλῶς ἐν πᾶσι. Where I err, Christ be pleased to restore me, where I stand, to stablish. If you please I haue allso a few Quœries to your selfe, without your leaue I will not: but will euer mourne, (the Lord assisting,) that I am no more (though I hope euer) yours R: Will:

Sir, Concerning natiues: the Pequts & Nayantaquits resolue to liue & die togeather, & not to yeald vp one. Last night tidings came that the Mauquauogs, (the caniballs) haue slaine some of our countrimen at Qunnihticut. I hope it is not true.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

NEW PROVIDENCE 2ndo 7manæ, instantis.*

SIR, — I haue nothing certaine to acquaint you with at present: there haue bene reports these 10 dayes, that the Pequts are entred leauge by the hire of 3 or 4 bushells of beades (black & white,) with the Mauquawogs or Mohowawogs which signifies men eaters in their language; These caniballs haue bene all the talke these 10 dayes, & the Nanhiggansicks are much troubled at them.

2 dayes since came tidings that these Mauquawogs & Pequts haue slaine many, both English & natiues at Qunnihticut Plantations. As yet I beleeue it not, & hope in the Lords mercy it is false, yet since you please to make such good vse of (poyson) bad & lying newes, (which for that end to awaken people I confesse) I sent the last: I would not conceale this: I hope to send better in like manner after this; yet I sadly feare if the Lord please to let loose these mad dogs, their practice will render the Pequts canibals too, & 2ndly (at the least) cut of all hopes of safe residence at Qunnihticut, & yet they are an 100 mile to the westward of Qunnihticut Plantations. I hope it will please the Most High to put his hooke into their nose &c. as allso to giue wisedome in the managing of the warr, that if it be possible a leauge may rather be firmely strooke with them: they are most savage, their weapons more dangerous & their crueltie dreadfull, rosting aliue &c.

Sir, I heare of the danger of the innovation of your Government. The God of heaven be pleased to giue you faythfullnes & courage in his feare: I feare not so much iron & steele as the cutting of our throats with golden

* *Secundo septimanæ*, &c. (*i.e.*, "the second day of the present week"). — See note on p. 233. — EDS.

kniues. I meane that vnder the pleasing baits of execution of justice to the eastward, & enlargment of authoritie, beyond all question, lies hid the hooke to catch your vnvaluable liberties. Better an honorable death then a slaves life.

Sir, I may not forget due thanckes for your intended requitalls of my poore endeavours toward the barbarous: if it please the Lord to vse (with any good success) so dull a toole, *satis superque*, &c.

One kindnes (yet according to true justice) let me be bold to request. I haue not yet got a peny of those 2 vnfaythfull ones James & Tho. Haukins of Boston, concerning whome my selfe & wife haue formerly troubled you. Mr. Coxall hath long had their bills: agreement of mitigation hath bene made since by arbitrators but to no purpose. Their great earnings (if I had not lovingly released them) were mine owne: my owne debts lye vnpaid, dayly calld for, & I heare for certaine (though they can flatter & lye) they haue spent lavishly & fared daintily of my purse, while my selfe would haue bene glad of a crust of their leavings, though yet I haue not wanted, through his loue that feedes the ravens &c. John Throckmorton hath often demaunded but in vaine, he will now attend your loving helpefullnes, & He who is most holy & blessed, all mercy & all pitie, helpe you mercifully to steere (by his holy compasse & allso with his owne most holy hand) in the ocean of troubles & trialls wherein we saile. It is no small favour that once againe (though the occasions are sad) we may sale & speake togeather, but the Harbour (safe & large) will pay for all. Thus praying for our meeting, with best salutes to Mrs. Wintrop & all yours, & my true respects to Mr. Deputie, Mr. Bellingham, & other loving friends, I rest

Your worships vnfaigned ROGER WILLIAMS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

New Providence this last of the weeke.*

Sir, — I am much desired by Yotaash (the bearer hereof, Miantunnomues brother) to interprete his message to you, viz: that Miantunnomu requests you to bestow a Pequt squaw upon him.

I object, he had his share sent him, he answeres that Caunounicus receaved but a few women & keepes them: & yet he sayth his brother hath more right: for, himselfe & his brothers men first laid hold vpon that company.

I obiect that all are disposed of, he answeres, if so, he desires to buy one or 2 of some English man.

I obiect that here are many runn away, which I haue desired himselfe might convey home to you: he replies, they haue bene this fortnight busie (that is keeping of a kind of Christmas): & 2ndly, at present Miantunnomues father in law lyes a dying: as allso that some of the runnawayes perished in the woods; 3 are at the Nanhighonsick, & 3 within 10 mile of this place; which I thinck may best be fetcht by 2 or 3 Massachuset Indians who may here get some one or 2 more to accompany & helpe.

Sir, you were pleased some while since to intimate some breach of leauge in Miantunnomu. I would not disharten this man from comming by my speech any way: but I could wish you would please to intimate your mind fully to him, as allso that if there be any iust exception which they can not well answere, that vse be made of it, (if it may be with the safetie of the common peace,) to get the bits into their mouthes,† especially if there be good assurance from the Mowhauges. So with my best salutes & earnest sighes to heaven I rest

Your worships vnworthy Roger Williams.

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* See note on p. 233. — Eds.

† I meane the bit of awfull respect, that now they fall not into mutinies at home, &c. — [Note by Williams.]

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

*For his much honoured Mr. Governour of the Massachusets, these.**

Much honoured Sir, — I was bould to present you with 2 letters by Thomas Holyway, some weekes since. I am occasioned againe at present to write a word by this bearer Wequash: whome (being a Pequt himselfe) I commended for a guide in the Pequt expedition.

I presume he may say something to your selfe, or to such other of my loving friends as may report vnto your worship, what befell him at Cowesett.†

He hath bene 5 or 6 dayes now at my howse, in which time I haue had much opportunitie to search into particulars, & am able to present you with naked truth.

He came from Monahiganick to Coweeset within night & lodged with his friend called Pananawokshin. At Coweesit an old man (Weeokamin) hath made great lamentation for the death of 2 sons in the Pequt warrs. This Weeokamun with divers of his consorts in the night time layd hold vpon Wequash, intending to bind him, charging him with the death of his 2 sonns. Much bickring there was betweene them, but no hurt done, only Weeokamun strugling with one of Wequash his company was sore bitten on his hand, & also bit the young mans fingers, which are well againe. So that their host kept peace in Caunounicus his name, & brought them safe to me the next day: yet in the fray they lost a coate & other small things, which (comming forth before day) they left behind them.

I sent vp a messenger to the Sachims to demaund a reason of such vsage & their goods. Caunounicus sent his sonn, & Miantunnomu his brother (Yotaash) who went to

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* See note on p. 233.

† The territory now forming the eastern part of Kent County, R.I., was called Cowe-set. — Eds.

Cowweeset & demaunded the reason of such vsage, & the goods, & so came to my howse, causing the goods to be restored, professing the Sachims ignorance, & sorrow for such passages, & giving charge to all natiues for their safe travell.

Having those messengers & Wequash at my howse, I caused them sollemnly to parley of what I knew was grievance betwixt them, & what els I could any way pick out from either of them, concerning our selues the English, or the Pequts, or themselues. All which I carefully writt downe the particulars, & shall readily, at your worships pleasure, acquaint you with them: either concerning some squaws which Wequash acknowledgeth he parted with (& iustly) to Caunounicus & Miantunnomu, or other brablings which I thought not fit to trouble your worship with, without commission.

Deare sir, (notwithstanding our differences concerning the worship of God & the ordinances ministred by Antichrists power) you haue bene alwayes pleased lovingly to answer my boldnes in civill things: let me once more find favour in your eyes to gratifie my selfe, Mr. James, & many or most of the townesmen combined, in advising what to say or doe to one vnruly person who openly in towne meeting more then once, professeth to hope for & long for a better government then the countrey hath yet, & lets not to particularize, by a generall Governour, &c. The white* which such a speech or person levells at can be no other then the rasing of the fundamentall liberties of the countrey, which ought to be dearer to vs then our right eyes. But I am allwayes too bold in prolixitie, &c., therefore at present with humble respect remembred & cries to Heaven for mercy to you & yours, roote & branches, & the whole countrey by your blessing, I rest

Your Worships most vnworthy ROGER WILLIAMS.

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* See note on p. 205. — EDS.

Sir, Mr. James & his, my wife & selfe respectiuely salute your honoured selfe & Mrs. Wintrop.

Wequash intends to beg of you, & requested me to specify his desire of a coate, wastcote & shirt &c. which I could not deny, though your wisedome may doe as seemes good.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROVIDENCE the 22 of 3rd mon.*

SIR, — Blessed be the Father of Spirits, in whose hand our breath & wayes are, that once more I may be bold to salute you & congratulate your returne from the brinck of the pit of rottennes! †

What is man that thou shouldest visit him & trie him? &c. Job 7th. You are put of to this tempestuous sea againe, more stormes await you, the good Lord repaire our leakes, fresh vp the gales of his blessed Spirit, steadie our course by the compasse of his owne truth, reskue vs from all our spirituall adversaries, not only men, but feinds of warr, & assure vs of an harbour at last, euen the bozome of the Lord Jesus.

Sir, you have many an eye (I presume) lift vp to the hills of mercy for you: mine might seeme superfluous: yet privately & publikely you haue not bene forgotten, & I hope shall not while these eyes haue sight.

Sir, this last night Mr. Allen of Hartford & Lieftenant Holmes lodgd with me, & relate that Mr. Heynes or some chiefe resolved to be with you this weeke. So that you may please a litle to stop till their comming. Lieftenant

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* May, 1638. This and the following letter should, in the order of dates, have preceded that printed on p. 229. — EDS.

† Alluding to the illness of Winthrop, "which brought him near death." — See his Hist. of N. E., i. 265. — EDS.

Holmes relates that William Baker, who lay hid so long among the Monahiggens & Pequts, for whome he gave bale &c. was hid againe the second time among the same by Okace, but the Lieftenant, by a Providence, heard of him & returnd him to Hartford, where he hath suffred for his much vncleanenes 2 severall whippings. This fellow, notorious in villany, & strongly affected by those wretches, both studying revenge, is worthy to be watcht euen by the whole countrey, & to be dispersed from the Pequts, & they each from other, according as I haue bene bold to motion formerly.

Sir, we haue bene long aflicted by a young man, boysterous & desperate, Philip Verins sonn of Salem, who, as he hath refused to heare the word with vs (which we molested him not for) this twelue month, so because he could not draw his wife, a gracious & modest woman, to the same vngodlines with him, he hath troden her vnder foote tyranically & brutishly: which she & we long bearing, though with his furious blows she went in danger of life, at the last the maior vote of vs discard him from our civill freedome, or disfranchize, &c: he will haue justice (as he clamours) at other Courts: I wish he might, for a fowle & slanderous & brutish cariage, which God hath delivered him vp vnto; he will hale his wife with ropes to Salem, where she must needes be troubled & troublesome as differences yet stand. She is willing to stay & live with him or else where, where she may not offend &c. I shall humbly request that this item be accepted, & he no way countenanced, vntill (if need be) I further trouble you: So with due respects to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Belingham &c. I rest,

Your worships vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROVIDENCE, 27 of 3rd.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — I haue presumed to send this Nahigonsick man, to attend your pleasure concerning the Pequts, & Caunounicus & Miantunnomues complaint against them & their protectours.

The summe of their desire I lately acquainted you with, viz. that you would please (euen all the English) to sit still & let themselues alone with them according to consent, when Miantunnomu was last with you, who comming home, fell vpon Nayantaquit men who sheltred the Pequts, but was stopt by our friends of Qunnihticut.

Or, 2ndly, that some other course (in consultation) might be taken for dispersion of them: euen as farr as Old England or elswhere, as they speake.

Sir, I doe conceaue either course will be difficult, because our friends at Qunnihticut are strangely bewitched with the subiection of these Pequots to themselues, & are allso as strangely resolued vpon fighting & violent courses, (as I vnderstand by letters, & otherwise by speech) vnles Miantunnomu come over personally to them to answer for proud speeches which they heare of.

Miantunnomu hath long since promised, & still waites to goe any whither you shall please to make answer, to meete &c.

Some from Qunnihticut write me word, that Indians will testifie such speeches to Miantunnomues teeth: & it may be so whether true or false.

I allso, in case I should listen to Indian reports, shall bring many who will affirme that Tho: Stanton hath receaved mighty bribes (whence *origo mali*) that Okace the

* May, 1638. — EDS.

Monahiggon hath receaved litle less then a thoughsand fathom of beades, whence he caries out some present to our friends at Qunnihticut, but I say I will not belieue it.

But this I know, that according to leauge in 2 articles, that the Pequts shall not be sheltred nor disposed of without mutuall consent of the English & the 2 Nahiggonsick Sachims.

2ndly, that if the Pequts be suffred in the land to congregate & vnite into 4 or 500 togeather (as Lieftenant Howe confest to me) it will cost more bloud on all sides then yet hath bene spilt; for one the one part, the Nanhiggonsicks can no more forbeare them then a wolfe his pray, & on the other side for the Pequts vpon all advantage the English shall find, that *Vindicta levis vitâ incandior ipsâ est.*

3rdly, that our friends at Qunnihticut are marveilously deluded by the Monahiggons, as to be so confident of them, that Mr. Hooker writes no proofe can be brought against them for word or deede: when it is cleare they were Pequts, & lately hid, (once & the second time) hid William Baker from the English, & that vpon paine of death to any that should reveale him, as Lieftenant Homes tould me. Sir, my desire is that it would therefore please the Lord to guide you all to make a prudent disposall & dispersion of the Pequts, which the Nanhiggonsick will further by peace or warr. So with all due salutacions I humbly rest, vnfaigned in all desire of your present & eternall peace.

Roger Williams.

Mr. Allen tould me that there were numbers of the Pequts at Narrigonset, but I satisfied him that they were at Nayantaquit, whence (if themselues had not stopt) they had long since bene remooved.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloved Mr. Governour of Massachusets.

PROVIDENCE, 14th of the 6th.*

SIR, — Since my last (vnto which you were pleased to giue answere with kind advice concerning the murther of the natiue) I haue receaued divers letters from Qunnihticut: the summ of all is this; that it hath pleased the Lord to encline all hearts to peace. Juanemo was perswaded to goe over in person & to giue that satisfaction which was demaunded: only concerning a mare killd by some Nayanticks, (others say by Pequts,) but as yet no proofe; our friends haue taken his promise to enquire & informe, & so they dismist him.

It hath pleased the Magistrates at Qunticut to envite Miantunnomu over to them to discover some Pequt passages & murtherers, which are denied, & to enter vpon some Articles with themselues: † denying themselues to be obliged in the Articles of the Bay.

I haue conceaved that all the English in the land were wrapt vp in that Agreement (a copie of which you were pleased Sir, to send me,): nevertheles I perswade him to goe over. His desire was (which Agowaun Sachim Masquanominity had in charge to expresse to you) that Mr. Governour would please to spare 4 English from himselfe as witnesses of passages; as allso my selfe with Cutshamoquene & Masquanominit.

I haue formerly engaged my promise to Miantunnomu: & resolue to take 2 or 3 English from hence, & hope (through the Lords mercy) that the iourney may be for peace.

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* August, 1638. — EDS.

† The visit to Connecticut, here intended, probably resulted in the Covenant at Hartford, Sept. 21, 1638. — *See R.I. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 177. — EDS.

Sir, vnles any passe by accident to Qunnihticut (if so you shall see good) that desire of 3 or 4 English may be denied, & yet graunted in effect by the going of some freely with my selfe.

Only sir, be pleased to giue an hint of your pleasure in any matter considerable, which we shall endeavour to effect.

The natiues, friends of the slaine had consultacion to kill an English man in revenge: Miantunnomu heard of it, & desired that the English would be carefull on the high wayes, & sent himselfe expresse threatnings to them &c. & informed them that Mr. Governour would see justice done. Ousamequin comming from Plymmouth told me that the 4 men were all guiltie; I answered but one; he replied true, one wounded him, but all lay in wait 2 dayes, & assisted. In conclusion: he tould me that the principall must not dye, for he was Mr. Winslowes man: & allso that the man * was by birth a Neepmuck man; so not worthy an other man should die for him: I answered what I thought fit, but conceaue there will be neede of wisedome & zeale in some, & remembrance of that *Vox Cœli:* He that doth violence to the blood of any person, let him flee to the pit: let none deliver him. The Lord mercifully cleanse the land from bloud, & make the bloud of his sonn Jesus more precious in all our eyes. So prayes Your Worships most vnworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie & his, all yours, best respects &c.

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* That is, the native slain by the Englishmen. For a full account of this homicide, see another letter of Williams to Winthrop, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 171, 172; Bradford, 362–364; Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 267. — EDS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For the right Worshipfull & his much honoured friend Mr. Governour of the Massachusetts, these.

At NARIGANSETT the 10th of the 7th,* early.

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — These Sachims with myself consulting the last Lords day as soon as I here arrived; I dispatched a letter to meete our Qunnihticut friends at Monahiggin: desiring a speedie word from Capt. Mason (according as he found the busines easie or difficult) to giue direction for the course of the Narigansetts, either to Monahiggin or Pequt. With all, the Messenger had charge to deale with Onkas, from vs all, Can. Mian. &c. to be wise & faythfull to vs in what we should propose to him.

The messenger returned the last night (& being a discreete man to obserue passages) he related that comming neere the towne, viz. to wit, Monahiggin, he heard 6 guns, which perswaded him that English were come, but drawing neerer, he found they were the guns which formerly the Pequts had got from the English: Entring the court, he found the house mingled full of Monahiggins & Pequts, who desired his newes, but he silent! They told him that they heard that the English were comming against them, & they had sent vp 2 chiefe men who fovnd the English trayning. They were examined of 2 things viz: why they had lately let goe 2 of the murtherers at Nayantaquit, whom they had bound, & why they had seazed vpon all the corne at Pequt, belonging to hiether Nayantaquit Pequts: so they were ymprisoned & bound: word whereof comming to Onkace, 40 men were sent vp with their bead girdles to redeeme them. The messenger got Onkase pri-

* September, 1638. — EDS.

vate, who would not be drawne to yeald vp any of his Pequts, but alleadging that he had bought them with his money of the English (as the Nayantaquit Sachims said, for which purpose I am bold to inclose Mr. Heynes his answere) he said they found the English so false, that the last night in a generall meeting they were resolued to fight it out, & for himselfe although the English bound him & killd him he would not yeald. He related that Mr. Heynes had given him a letter of securitie to lye by him, in case that any English should iniure him, but in this pursuing his Pequts & binding his men, he had throwen away his letter, &c. Sir, your wisedome (I know) catcheth at my request before I make it, viz: that in case I am directed from our friends of Qunnihticut to send for aide, you would please to cause a readines at litle warning. I could make true relacion of the brags of the chiefe of these wretches, viz. that the Massachusett English did but gleane after the Qunnihticut men, &c. in the wars: but I am confident you desire their good, with the safetie of your owne state: therefore I rest with a description briefe of the Pequt townes, now againe vnder Okace & the Nayantaquit Sachims established: At Pequt Nayantaquit are vpward of 20 howses, vp the river at Mangunckakuck 8, vp still at Sauquonckackock 10, vp still at Paupattokshick 15, vp still at Tatuppequauog 20, 3 or [ ] mile further with Onkace at his towne Monahiggin, a great number mingled, which are all vnder Onkas, beside those at Qunnipiuck, & others of Long Iland, & Sasacous his confederates. At Nayantaquit the hither, vpwards of 20 howses, all vnder the Nayantaquit Sachims, except 6 or 7 men vnto whome your worship was pleased to giue life, vpon Miantunnomues motion, by my letter, vpon their submission. These are still Miantunnomu's subiects, yet refusing to liue with him at Narigansett, he disclaimes them, in case according to promise, they assist not in this busines. The most High graciously sanctifie all his holy pleasure to vs, prosper these

our present enterprises to his prayse, but especially against those enemies (1. Pet. 2. 11.) lusts which fight against our soules: in him I desire to be

Your worships more & to eternitie

ROGER WILLIAMS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Some while since I wrote to you a short narration* of the issue of my voyage to Qunnihticut & Plymmouth. I desire only to know whether it came to hand. I haue bene carefully searching into that rumour of the Plymmouth man slaine 4 yeares since. The persons to whome I was directed by our Plymouth friends for informacion are yet absent on hunting: & Miantunnomu is but new returned from Qunticut, yet with what instruction I haue already gotten I am this morning taking a journey to the Sachims about it.

I heare of 3 Cowweset men in hold about Mr. Hathornes cow. The Sachims affirme they can not discover the partie. These 3 were 3 of six then there hunting, yet they say 2 things; 1st, that many Northerne & Saugust Indians hunt there; allso & 2ndly, it may be that some adverse person might out of subtle envy shoot the beast, to render them odious to the English, & to cause their deserting of the place, which they would haue done but that the English were very desirous (especially Mr. Endicot) that they should kill & sell venison, &c.

For my selfe I shall faythfully enquire & disclose: although divers vnderstanding persons of Salem haue affirmed that the cow dying about 3 monthes after, when so many

* The communication here referred to may be seen in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 173, of date about September, 1638. — EDS.

head of cattle dyed, it is very questionable whether the arrow occasioned the death, &c.

Sir, this is the occasion of this enclosed: I vnderstand that a servant of yours, Joshua —— is some trouble to your selfe, as allso to others, & consequently can not (if he desire to feare the Lord) but himselfe be troubled & grieued in his condicion, though otherwise I know not where vnder Heauen he could be better.

If it may seem good in your eyes (wanting a servant) I shall desire him (not simply from you) but for your peace & his. I shall desire your best & full satisfaction in payment, & what summe you pitch on, to accept it either from this bill, or if you better like from that debt of Mr. Ludlow, for which he promised your worship to pay me 800 waight of tobacco but did not, & I presume your worship may with ease procure it; but I subscribe *ex animo* to your choice, & with respectiue salutacions & continued sighes to Heauen for you & yours, rest desirous to [be]

Your Worships vnfained though vnworthy

Roger Williams.

Sir, I am loath, but I presume once more to trouble you with that deceitfull man James Hawkings, craving that you would please to lend an hand that by your selfe or the Court at Boston I may find mercy against such iniustice.

Sir, my wife (togeather with her best respects) to Mrs. Wintrop, requests her acceptance of an handfull of chesnuts, intending her (if Mrs. Wintrop loue them) a bigger basket of them at the returne of Gigles.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For the right Worshipfull & his much honoured friend Mr. Gouernour of the Massachusetts, these.

Sir, — Vpon the receipt of your last (answering my quæries) I haue acquainted the Sachims with the busines: I am not yet furnished with answere sufficient: what I haue at present I shall humbly & faythfully submit to consideracion: 1 from them, 2 from my selfe.

From them: vpon sollemne consultation with them about the 100*li* demaunded of themselues, they say —

First, that they remember not that either in the first Agreement & League (in the beginning of the Pequt warrs) or since, in any expression, that euer they vndertooke to answer in their owne persons or purses what their subiects should faile in.

2. Nor doe they belieue that the English Magistrates doe so practice, & therefore they hope that what is righteous amongst ourselues we will accept of from them.

3. Therefore they professe that what euill soeuer shall appeare to be done by any (subiect to them) against the bodies or goods of the English, satisfaction shall readily be made out of the bodies or goods of the delinquents.

For the 100*li* demaunded, they say concerning the Salem cow* they haue to this day enquired, & can discouer no guilt either in the persons ymprisoned or the rest, but doe belieue that it was falsly laid vpon them by such northern natiues whose traps they were, who themselues were guiltie.

For the horses, they haue sent for Wuttattauquegin who hath not bene with them these 3 yeares, but keepes at Massachusett: they intend allso to call a generall meeting

* Mr. Hathorne's cow. — See the preceding letter. — Eds.

of the Countrey at his comming, within few dayes, when I shall haue further answere from them.

Sir, a word more from my selfe : I haue long since beleeued that as it is with the Most High (Prov. 21. 3.) so with your selues. To doe judgment & justice is more acceptable then sacrifice. And therefore that it shall not be vngratefull in your eyes, that I humbly request leaue to say that I see the busines is ravelld, & needes a patient & gentle hand to rectifie misvnderstanding of each other & misprisions. The Sachims to prevent the feares of their men in hunting or travelling &c, earnestly desired me to satisfie the English that if the bearers of a writing from me should offend any wayes, that they, the Sachims, would upon informacion from my selfe, cause the delinquents to make satisfaction out of their goods or bodies; to the end that the English might not ymprison or transport away their persons, (which the natiues suspect) 2 of their men hauing bene not long since caried away in an English ship from the Bay, & 2 of their women the last summer from Qunnunagut* in this bay.

In 2 particulars (as I conceaue) neither the natiues nor my selfe were rightly vnderstowd. First, in the scope of the writing, which was not to aske leaue to hunt as before. 2ndly, in the promise, which was not to pay of themselues (I mean the Sachims) but to cause their men to deale iustly & to giue satisfaction for offences committed out of their goods or bodies.

I hope it will please the Lord to perswade your hearts to belieue what I affirme, & againe to review the writing. Howeuer, rather then any labour or paines of mine (well meant to preserue peace) shall cause or occasion dissention, I resolue to be yet poorer, & out of my pouertie to endeauour & further satisfaction. (The earth is the Lords & the fullnes of it.) To the Euerlasting

* Conanicut. — Eds.

Armes of his mercy I dayly recommend you & yours, & rest Your Worships most vnworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My respectiue salutes to Mr. Deputie, Mr. Belingham, &c.

Sir, I haue heretofore bene bold to request your helpe in recouering an old debt from Mr. George Ludlow: & you were pleased after dealing with him, to signifie that he had promised to deliuer ashoare for me 800*lbs.* waight of tobacco: I shall now humbly request that if Mr. Stratton desire it, or if he be againe bound for Virginia, that you would please to testifie so much as you remember in a line or 2, which may be of great vse for my recouering of the debt, & I shall desire to be thanckfull.

PROVIDENCE.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloved Mr. John Wintrop at his howse at Boston.

PROVIDENCE 10th 30.*

SIR, — Hoping of your health this dead season, with respective salutacions: I am bold to request a little helpe, & I hope the last, concerning mine old & bad debtour about whome I haue formerly troubled your worship, Mr. George Ludlow.

I heare of a pinnace to put in to Newport, bound for Virginia, & I vnderstand that if you please to testifie what you remember in the case, I may haue some hope at last to get something.

You were pleased after dealing with him at Boston to

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* December, 1638. — EDS.

certific me that he had promised to discharge vnto me 800*li* of tobacco, which you afterwards thought to haue bene discharged: but he fayling, although my due came to much more, I request if you can remember in a line or 2 to testifie: & I shall desire to blesse the Lord for you, & to beg of him a mercifull requitall into your bozome, euen from his holy left & right hand especially: my writings are (from hand to hand about the busines) lost; so that all my euidence will be from your hand, of his acknowledgment & promise. Sir, I rest vncessantly mourning that I am no more Your worships vnfaigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I may not omit my thanckfull acknowledgment of that councell of peace you were pleased to giue to a young man who (when I was at Block Iland) repaired to your worship for advice in some jar betweene him & his neighbours: your councell was prosperous, & I desire you may haue the joy of it. For so sayth the Lord, to the councellours of peace is joy.

Sir, I purpose within 20 dayes (if God will) to travell vp to Monhiggin: at my returne I shall trouble you with a line from Onkas, if I can speake with him about your Pequts.

Sir, I pray let your servant direct the natiue with this letter to Mr. David Yale, Mrs. Eaton's sonn.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honoured & beloued Mr. Governour of the Massachusets, these.

SIR, — In my last I gaue intimacion of another answere, which from the Sachims is this.

First, that although they remember not any agreements

that haue passed about the natiues yealding vp their hunting places, advantages, &c. with in præscribed limits &c., yet, because satisfactorie agreements may haue bene vnknowne to them, betweene yourselues & the natiues about you, they haue sent for this man, Wuttattaaguegin, (who keepes most at Massachuset with Cutshamoquene,* & hath not bene this 3 yeares with them.)

This man Wuttattaaguegin hath promised to satisfie in wampam, beauer & venison what it comes to.

But he belieues not the dammage can be so great, for thus he relates: hauing laid his traps, intending dayly to tend them, Cutshamoquin sent for him to be a guide to him in a hunting match about the Bay, where other natiues were ignorant. He went, yet sent a youth to view his traps, who saith that he saw the English men loose 3 horses out of the traps, & rode away vpon 2 of them, the third only was lamed.

Vpon this he desired libertie to returne to the Bay, to enquire more perfectly the dammage: & being not come back as yet, they haue this present sent againe for him.

Yet because they see not that Wuttattaaguegin broke any knowne couenant in laying his traps in that place, nor willingly wrought evill against the English, they conceaue it would be very faire & honourable in all natiues eyes, that it would please the English to make knowne as well their moderation as their justice in the case.

And for themselues they resolue if this man should not be faythfull or able to satisfie your demaunds, they promise (vpon perswasions & some offers of mine to them) to contribute themselues out of their owne, & to draw in helpe, that may in wampam, beauer, & venison make vp the whole summe before the next hunting be ouer.

So crauing humbly your loving acceptation of my poore

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* Sagamore of Massachusetts. — Eds.

service herein, or whatcuer els you shall please to vse me in, I rest Your Worships most vnworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

PROVIDENCE 2d 3.*

My due respect to my honoured friends Mr. Deputie & the rest of the Councell.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[*For*] *his much honoured & beloved Mr. John Wintrop, Governour of the Massachusets, these.*

SIR, — I a[m req]uested by Caunounicus & Miantunnomu to present you with their loue & respect (which they allso desire may be remembred to all the English Sachims) as allso with this expression of the continuance of their loue vnto you, viz. 30 fathom of Beades (10 from Caunounicus, & 20 from Miantunnomu†) & the basket a present from Miantunnomu's wife to your deare companion Mrs. Wintrop: 3 things they request me to desire of you.

First, the continuance of your ancient & constant friendship toward them, & good opinion of their sincere affection to the English.

I obiected against this that I lately heard that 2 boates of English were cut of by Pequts & that Miantunnomu knew of the act, &c.

To this they answered that they haue not so much as heard of any miscarriage of the English this way of late, & that 2 dayes since a Nariganset man came from Long Iland & brought no such tidings.

That they haue alwayes (& shall still) succoured the English in any such distresses: & that if but a single Eng-

* May, 1639. — EDS.

† See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 295. — EDS.

lish man, woman, or childe be found in the woods by any of theirs, they should punish severely that man that should not safely conduct them & succour them, &c.

2ndly, That you would please to ratifie that promise made to them after the warrs, viz. the free vse of the Pequt countrey for their hunting, &c.

3rdly, That since there are many Pequt Sachims & Captaines surviving, many of whome haue bene actuall murtherers of the English, & (3 of them) which haue slaine some of their Sachims:

And that since the Agreement the last yeare at Qunnihticut with Mr. Heynes & the Magistrates, you haue not yet pleased to come to action:

And that the Pequts being many hundreths of them may with these their Sachim[s *torn*] doe more mischiefe to vs and them:

They therefore request that you would please to write by them at present to Mr. Heynes that so vpon your joynt Agreement they may themselues freely pursue those Pequt Princes & Captaines whom Mr. Heynes (who had the list of them from me the last yeare) shall name vnto them.

I obiected the report of great numbers of Pequts among themselues, &c.

They answere as formerly, that to cleare themselues from that, & to make it appeare how both the Monahiggins & the Nayantaquit men haue receaved the Pequts & their presents (when they refused them) & so haue made presents to the English with the Pequt beades, which themselues neuer did nor could: they will now fall vpon this service, & if the Monahiggins & Nayantaquit men will not ioyne with them in it, they will themselues pursue the persons that shall be named to them wheresoeuer they find them, although at Monahiggannick or Nayantaquit, without touching a Monahigganie or Nayantick man further then you shall please to advise them.

More they say, but I should be tædious, & therefore with

all due respect to your loving selfe, Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Deputie, &c. I rest

Your worships faythfull & vnfayned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Cannounicus begs of you a litle sugar.

PROVIDENCE this 9th of the 3rd.*

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — You were pleased some while since to refer me to Mr. Heynes for a lyst of such Pequt as were authors & chiefe actors in the late murthers vpon the English.

Accordingly I haue sent vp once & againe to Mr. Heynes & we are come to a period: the child is come to the birth: a little strength from your loving hand (the Lord so pleasing, & blessing) will bring it forth.

This lyst here inclosed (which I request may be returned) was drawne by my best enquirie & Tho: Stantons in the presence of the Magistrates at Qunnihticut the last yeare.

This list he was pleased to send me with the addition of 7 more vnder his owne hand.

Some quæries I made vpon some of the 7: as allso [*torn*] Sasacous his brother Puppompogs (now vpon Long Iland) whome Mr. Heynes desired might be spared, & I applauded the desire in many respects, only I desired for many other respects that he might be sent to some other part of the world.

Allso since that the Nayantaquit Sachims who harbour

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* May, 1639. — EDS.

many of these, & Okace, Caunounicus & Miantunnomu requested that a pinnace might lye some few dayes at Pequt, to promote & countenance the worck while Miantunnomu pursued them.

Vnto all which Mr. Heynes in this last is pleased to answer, so that we are come to a period. This weeke I went vp to the Nanhiggonsick about other busines: there I found a barr, which I thought good to request your Worship to remooue by a word or 2.

Your captiue (which was Maumanadtucks wife) now at Pequt, presuming vpon your experimented kindnes toward her, informes all Pequts & Nayantaquits that Mr. Governours mind is, that no Pequt man should die, that her 2 sons shall ere long be Sachims there &c. Your wisedome (now by a fresh line or 2) declaring that none but these (who by the best of intelligence appeare to be deeply guiltie,) shall die, may facilitate the execution, to the honour of your mercy & justice, & the clearing of the land from bloud, either that of our countrimen allready spilt, or that may be hazarded by these wretches. I might but will not trouble your worship with some presumptions that way: the Lord be pleased to further & blesse: & helpe your precious soule & mine to remember that vengeance, & to long & expect for it vpon the enemies of Jesus, when blood shall flow out of the wine press to the horse-bridles by the space of 1600 furlongs.

Your worships vnfayned hietherto

Roger Williams.

Mine humble & true respects to Mrs. Wintrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Belingham &c.

The messenger is ignorant of the matter, & is satisfied.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Williams about the Pequods to be killed, (6) 1639."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROUIDENCE. 21. 5.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Your runnawayes (as I before surmised) are at Monhiggin, & the Squa Sachims daughter is married to the Sachim Onkas. I know the match hath bene long desired (although the Sachim hath 5 or 6 wiues allready) which makes me feare that all Indian meanes will not reach your iust desires. May you please to rest a litle, for Miantunnomu (as he pretends out of loue & respect to your person) is very diligent about a peaceable returne of them, that he may bring them with him, & as many more of the runnawayes as he can gett. Onkas was gone to Qunnihticut, so that a litle patience is requisite.

Sir, this you may please to signifie to your much honoured brother, Mr. Gouernour,† that this busines only hinders Miantunnomues comming. He is (not satisfied but) perswaded to trust to interpreters whom he feares to trust, & to come without my selfe.

As allso may you please to vnderstand that the Nayantaquite Sachims still refusing to yeald vp any of those Pequts to death to whome they had promised life; our friends of Qunticut (as I haue heard by 2 letters from Tho: Stanton) intend present revenge vpon them. Caunonicus & Miantunnomu still perswade (to mine owne knowledge) the Sachims at last to be wise, & yeald vp their Pequts, but in vaine, for the Nayantaquit Sachims resolue that for so many liues as are taken away by the English, or the Monhiggins & Pequts with them, they will take revenge vpon Mr. Throckmorton at Prudence, or Mr. Coddington &c., or Prouidence, or elsewhere.

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* July, 1640. — EDS.

† Dudley, who was brother to Winthrop by the marriage of their children, was Governor in 1640; and did not hold the office again till after the death of Miantonomo, who is mentioned in this letter. — EDS.

I haue dealt with Caunounicus & Miantunnomu to desert the Nayantaquits in this busines. They answer they would if they had shedd the bloud of the English, but as they are their brethren, so they neuer hurt the English, but ioyned with them against the Pequts &c. only they haue bene greedie vpon the prey against the English mind: & lastly they say the English partialitie to all the Pequts at Monhiggin is so great, & the consequences so grieuous vpon the abuse of the English loue, that all their arguments returne back (which they vse to the Nayantaquit Sachims) as arrowes from a stone wall.

Tho: Stanton informes me of another cause of warr vpon the Nayantaquits, viz: Wequash* affirmes that one of the petie Sachims of Nayantaquit was aboord Mr. Oldams pinnace, & that some goods & gold are at Nayantaquit. Gold I neuer heard of, but the pinnace, skiff & other luggage & small particulars I had word of at first, which were (by reason of distance) let alone: & in case that any one of the Sachims or more knew of Mr. Oldams death, & that due evidence be found, I yet doubt (now since the comming of the Lord Jesus & the period of the Nationall Church,) whether any other vse of warr & arms be lawfull to the professours of the Lord Jesus, but in execution of justice vpon malefactors at home: or preseruing of life & liues in defenciue warr as was vpon the Pequts &c. Isay. 2. Mic. 4.

If the sword rage in Old or New E: I know who giues out the commission, & can arme frogs, flies, lice, &c. He be pleased to giue vs peace which earth neither giues nor takes. In him I euer desire to be more vnfaigned & faythfull Your Worships

Roger Williams.

* This is the last time the name of this native occurs in these letters of Williams. He died in the summer of 1642. Williams pays a kind tribute to him in his "Key," published the next year. In noticing his death, Winthrop, ii. 74, calls him "Wequash Cook." Another Indian, frequently mentioned in Williams's letters in this volume and elsewhere, was named "Wequashcuck." He lived many years after the death of Wequash. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PROUIDENCE 7. 6. (so called) 40.

SIR, — About (from Portsmouth) I receaued yours. As I lately advertizd to Mr. Gouernour,* the hurries of the natiues thoughts & consultations so continue, about the 3 Nayantaquits, prisoners with our friends at Qunniticut; that your runnawayes are longer secure in their escape then otherwise they should be.

The Monhiggin Sachem, Onkas, refuseth to part with his prey: And whereas Miantunnomu was going vp to Monhiggin himselfe with a sufficient company for the runnawayes, Onkas sent word that it was your worships plot to bring him into the snare at Monhiggin, that there the Qunnihticut English might fall vpon him.

Miantunnomu still promiseth me to come ouer to you, & his purpose (to his vtmost) to bring them with him. My occasions lead me within these 4 or 5 dayes to Qunnipiug, when (the Lord so permitting) I purpose to goe vp to Monhiggin & try the vtmost my selfe. The yssue of all is in that Euerlasting Hand, in which is our breath & our wayes, in whome I desire to b[e] still

Your Worships [vn]faigned ROGER WILLIAMS.

I thanck your worship for the Scotch intelligence: The issue (I feare) will be generall & grieuous persecution of all Saincts.

Mine & my poore wiues best salutes to Mrs. Winthorp & all yours.

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop, "Mr. Williams, (6) 10 — 40."

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* Dudley. — EDS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.*

PROUIDENCE 25 of 4th, 1645, (so calld.)

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Though I should feare that all the sparkes of former loue are now extinct, &c, yet I am confident that your large talents of wisedome & experience of the affaires of men will not lightly condemne my endeavour to giue information & satisfaction, as now I haue done in this poore apologie, with all due respectes presented to your honour, & the hands of my worthy friends with you.

Sir, for tidings concerning the publike, 3 dayes since I receaued a letter from the Dutch Gouernour reporting some new hopes of peace. For our selues, the flame of warr rageth next dore vnto vs. The Narrigansets & Monhiggins, with their respectiue confederates, haue deepely implunged themselues in barbarous slaughters. For my selfe, I haue (to my vtmost) diswaded our neighbours, high & low, from armes &c. but there is a spirit of desperacion fallen vpon them, resolued to revenge the death of their prince,† & recover their ransome for his life, &c. or to perish with him. Sir, I was requested by both parties, your selues & the Narragansets, to keep the subscribed leauge betweene your selues & them, & yours & their posterities. Sir, that, & the common bonds of humanitie moue me to pray your selues & our friends of Qunnihtiqut to improue all interests & opportunities to quench these flames. My humble requests are to the God of Peace that no English bloud be further spilt in America: tis one way to prevent it by loving mediation or prudent newtralitie. Sir, (excepting the matters of my soule & conscience to God, the Father of Spirits) you haue not a truer

* This is the last letter of Williams, in this collection, addressed to Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts; and the only one preserved written since the return of Williams from England in September of the last year, whither he had gone in the summer of 1643. The fruits of this visit were the Charter of Rhode Island, of date 14th March, 1643-4. — EDS.

† Miantonomo, who was killed by Uncas about September, 1643. — EDS.

friend & servant to your worthy person & yours, nor to the peace & wellfare of the whole countrey, then the most despised & most vnworthy ROGER WILLIAMS.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my honourd kind fr[iend] Mr. Jo: Winthrop at Pequt.

NAR. 15. 2. 49 (so calld.)

SIR, — Best respects & loue to you both. By this bearer (Nath. Waller) I received your booke, & had by the same returned it, but that I desire to reade it ouer once more, finding it pleasant & profitable, & craue the sight of any other of that subiect at your leasure, kindly thancking you for this inclosed. As yet no tidings further from England. Here the Dutch Governour threatnes some trouble about the Dutch prize which Capt. Clarke, Bened: & others bought, which he desires to be restored, as being no prize, as taken contrary to the peace with Spaine If not restored he threatnes to take all vessells from hence, to which end it may be it is, that Jacob Curlow (whome the Indians call Yaupuck) hath lately bought of some of the Narriganset Sachims the litle Iland in the mouth of this Bay (called Aquedenesick & Dutch Iland), intending to build & trade there, contrary to an order of this Colonie against foreiners, as allso against the agreement betweene the Commissioners & the Sachims, not to sell any land without their consent. We are borne to trouble as the sparkes fly vpward. Aboue the sun is our rest, in the Alpha & Omega of all blessednes, vnto whose armes of euerlasting mercy I commend you, desirous to be yours euen in him. R: W:

My loving respect to your loving sister. I hope it will please God to send you a mill.

On the outside, in Williams's hand, "This letter I pray send againe, it is but now come to my hand."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*For the Worshipfull his very loving friend Mr. John Winthrop at Boston, or elswhere.**

Sir, — Best salutes &c. I long to heare of your refreshing after so much sighing &c. Our neighbour Sachims (having sent 2 natiues this morning to my house instead of Causasenamont, to attend your comming,) are importunate with me to write to you, & to pray you (if this messenger Sasepunnuit meete you on the way) to write a word to the Bay, concerning the late busines of Onkas pretended death at Monhiggin. For preface, this Mr. Smiths pinnace (that rode here at your being with vs) went forth the same morning to Newport, bound for Block Iland, & Long Iland, & Nayantaquit for corne: with them went a Narriganset man, Cuttaquene, an vsuall trader for Mr. Smith: the wind being (after 3 or 4 dayes stay at Newport,) northeast & strong, they put in to your riuer & so to Monhiggins. Onkas came aboord, *on a sudden groaned & cried out that the Narriganset had kild him: the Nariganset man denied it, & Onkas shewed a wound on his breast which bled fresh, &c.*† Many circumstances passed. In fine Onkas caused the mans 2 forefingers to be cut of & sent to Capt. Mason, who being come, caused the man to be vnbound, & took him along with himselfe to Hartford. Our neighbour Sachims now pray you & the Magistrates of the Bay, & of the whole countrey, that the matter may be throughly searched out with all diligence, for 2 causes. First, for the clearing of themselues, who all professe most sollemnly to be altogeather innocent, &c. & they say it had bene

* This letter has no date; but the complaint of Uncas against the Narragansett man, here related, was considered by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at their session at Boston, in July, 1649. — *See Hazard*, ii. 130. — Eds.

† This paragraph is somewhat obscured by an attempted erasure, apparently by another hand. — Eds.

childish, now they are so neere finishing their payment, to haue prævented the English iustice against Onkas, which they are in great hopes of when matters shall be heard &c. They heare that Cuttaquene, the man in hold, being threatned death by a hatchett ouer his head, to confesse his complotters, authours &c, he named (as they say) themselues to saue his owne life. The second cause, that Onkas might be discouered, for they suppose he (knowing how neere he is to a triall (after the payment finished) according to the English Sachims promise,) proiected this villanie &c. to render the Narigansetts still odious to the English, & prævent his triall. I was bould to write your dearest for a word of English informacion; which I thinck will come by the English (who went to see your parts.) By natiues I heare *that your James went to Onkas & charged him with projecting himselfe & acting himselfe a small stab on his breast in a safe place &c. Many circumstances look earnestly toward a plot of Onkas, both at this time, & in the manner*,* of the fact of which you will heare more. He that is the Father of Lights, & Iudge of the whole world will shortly bring all secret things to light. At present 2 things make me (if all things else were cleare) to suspend beliefe to Onkas words: First, that the going forth of Cuttaquène in Mr. Smith's vessell was on an instant, & accidentall, & neuer intended (that I can yet heare of) for Monhiggin; howeuer, if the English had thoughts of it (which will be knowne vpon their landing) yet they neuer mencioned it to the natiue, who, [it] is like, would never haue consented, for this second consideracion. This man Cuttaquene (without a miracle) could not attempt this thing, for I know him, & all men know him, to be of a gentle & peaceable spirit, & was neuer forth with them in their wars; & no way like to stop such a man at noone day, in the midst of his owne, &c. Sir, I am sorry

* The words in Italics are imperfectly erased. — Eds.

I haue no horse, nor boate fit to serue you at this time. My canow with a wind faire would quickly set you here with ease: I haue writ to my wife that it may attend you: & I humbly beg of the God of heaven that his holy Angells may attend you in all his wayes, in whome I desire to be your worships respectiue & affectionate

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, if this meete you at Providence, I pray impart it to my brother & friends to whome I can not now write.

THIS 6T OF THE WEEKE.

Sir, If this come to you in the Bay, I pray present my due respects to the Deputie Governour,* & other worthy friends as you see fitting, &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO ELIZABETH WINTHROP.

NARIGANSETT.

MRS. WINTHROP, — Loving respects to your kind selfe & deare sister. I am importuned by our neighbour Sachims to write to your deare husband in the Bay, that whereas they heare that Onkas is hurt by a Naraganset man, that went in Richard Smith's pinnace, they pray him to be assured that what euer is done, more or less, they are ignorant of it, & will vse no other means against him then the English justice in a legall way. They pray me allso to write to you, that by your selfe or some of our louing friends with you, this messenger may bring word [of] the truth of matters among them: I beleeue nothing of any of the barbarians on either side, but what I haue eye sight for, or English testimonie. I am the more willing to write, because I might hereby heare of your health, &

* This letter may have been written after the death of Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts, which occurred 26 March, 1649, and before the election of his successor. — EDS.

of your children & neighbours, to whome I wish æternall peace in the Son of God, in whome I desire to be

Your loving friend ROGER WILLIAMS.

I pray cause a line to be sent back by this bearer, what the matter is.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his kind friend Mr. Jo: Winthrop, Esq. at Pequt.

NAR. 26. 6. 49 (so called)

SIR, — Best respects to you both, with hearty desires of your peace & ours, if the God of Peace so mercifully please. Vpon this late hubbub, (of an assault vpon the Pequts by the Monhiggins, & one of those Monhiggins pursued & slaine by the Pequts) the Sachims have sent to me for my thoughts, their men being impatient of making an assault allso vpon the Monhiggins. I tell them the English will not regard their complaints vntill the debt is paid. But that (at this time) will not stop them: I tell them the Monhiggins haue now kild but an old woman (if dead): they haue kild a Captaine, that makes them consider. Further, whereas they desire I would write to the Bay, I answer, it is better first that I write to you to pray you to send to Hartford, to know whether the Magistrates & English haue set on Onkas, & what their resolution is, then upon receit of their mind shall yourselfe & I know better what to write to the Bay for them. With this I haue satisfied them, & conceaue it very requisite that (if you haue not already) you would please to request a word from our honoured friends of Hartford. If God please, this fire may yet be quenched, which humbly desires Your worships vnworthy

R. W.

Sir, I pray seale & send this to Esq. Mason.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his honoured kind friend Mr. John Wintrop at Pequt.

NAR: 25, 8, 49. (so calld)

LOVING SIR, — To your selfe & your deare companion best salutation & desires of your hearts desire, & more then your hearts can desire in the knowledge & loue of the Son of the living God: This passing hand calls for this line only of neighborly salutaceon & information. Our neighbours messengers are gone to (not returned from) Massachusetts, with about 20*li* or upwards of peag. I had promised to write for them, but the peag being brought me, & so litle, & they quarrelling among themselues, & foolishly charging inferior Sachims of nonpayment, I was not free. I advised them (according to your advice) to compell Wequashcuck to contribute, as allso the Block Ilanders & some pettie Sachims about the great pond (who follow Wequashcuck to saue their money) but they say it is a new thing so to doe &c. & they desire rather the English would doe it, which discouerie of their weaknes, sir, in my poore thoughts, houlds out a greate Prouidence of God for the onenes & securitie of the English (while the barbarians are in their fractions) & some dore of hope to me of some preparations to draw them neerer to civilitie, & that according to your owne deare father's opinion & desire. Our natiues say the Mauquawogs haue desired the English to stay from going to warr against the Dutch Indians, but a Dutchman tells me he heard (at Munnados) of 500 English comming against them. If the Father of Mercies mercifully prevent not, it may proue a deuouring fire. Blufield is come to Newport & is carrying the ship (his prize) to Munnadoes, having promised the Governour to answer it to the Spaniard if demaunded, because she is taken against the

Treves.* Only the seamen (being of seuerall nations) are divided & quarrell, & will hardly be pacified but by the weake power of the Iland, where a Generall Court is suddenly calld this next (2nd) day at Portsmouth. If you haue any printed relations from England, I shall thanck you for the sight. I haue receaued a large & pious letter from the Ladie Vane (which I will shortly present you with). Sir Henry's opinion is, persecution aproaching. Tis the portion of Christ Jesus & his to pass through suffring to Glory: In him desirous to be euer Yours

Roger Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

[*For*] *Mr. Jo. Wintrop, these.*

Nar. 9. 10. 49. (so calld)

Sir, — Praysed be God for your healths & peace, which I humbly desire he may please to continue & sanctifie to Himselfe. These letters Mr. Arnold importund me to send, although by an hired messenger. This bearer (although a thiefe & must be looked to) is carefull, & I haue promised him, vpon a note receaved from you, a pair of breeches. We haue here notice of conclusions for the warr from Boston, & preparacions of a set number in each towne. Truely Sir, I haue heard litle concerning those murthers by English or natiues, but feare that the Lord is kindling fires amongst vs. I humbly conceaue the case of a man murthered neede not hazard the English in winter

* *Treve*, a "truce," or "armistice." It may be conjectured that the writer refers to the Treaty of Munster, concluded between Spain and the States-General in 1648. This Bluefield is probably the Capt. "Blauvelt," a Dutchman, mentioned in O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland, i. 296, as commander of a privateer upon our coast a few years before. See also Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, i. 397-399. — Eds.

hostilities, nor the plantations, by the certaine & experienced revenges of those Dutch Indians, & am confident that within a yeares compasse, &c., by silent & watchfull courses, the murtherer or murtherers may be taken in English townes. Howeuer, David would rather winck at murthrous Joab all his dayes, then hazard the losse of more bloud for the revenging of some. At Secunck a great many haue lately concurd with Mr. Jo: Clarke & our Prouidence men about the point of a new Baptisme, & the manner by dipping: & Mr. Jo. Clarke hath bene there lately (& Mr. Lucar) & hath dipped them. I belieue their practice comes neerer the first practice of our great Founder Christ [Jesus] then other practices of religion doe, & yet I haue not satisfaction neither in the authoritie by which it is done, nor in the manner; nor in the prophecies concerning the rising of Christs Kingdome after the desolations by Rome, &c. It is here said that the Bay hath lately decreed to prosecute such, & hath writt to Plymmouth to prosecute at Secunk, with overtures that if Plymouth doe not, &c. Here hath bene great bickrings about Blufield's ship at Newport, there arrested by some of his company, & ordered to be sold & payments made, although he stand deepely bound to repay all to the Spaniard vpon demaund, because taken against the Treves. This ship & other vessells, & great & small ordinance going of, caused high reports (almost to my beliefe as I wrote to you) of some Irish pirates, whome we haue cause to feare, & (seeking to God) prepare allso for. I haue heard of a booke from England importing another high case on foote touching a more æquall division of lands among brethren, & provision for the younger brethren. I thanckfully acknowledge your loue concernning my daughter.* My wife (here with me) in formes me of a course of physick

* Probably his daughter Mary, who is said to have been born at Plymouth in August, 1633, now sixteen years of age. — Eds.

she is entred into with Mr. Clark* of Boston, where she hath bene lately & is better. We are incompassed with motions about her; but neither I nor she can entertaine thoughts of so early a marriage. She, as my wife tells me, desires to spend sometime in service, & liked much Mrs. Brenton (who wanted); but I trouble you with such passages, &c. My wife prayes a litle of your powder for Mrs. Weekes daughter, of Warrick, who is euery winter greatly afflicted by occasion of such obstructions, & breakes forth to lamentable effects. The condicion (although the parents offer payment with thanks) I question not but will prevaile with your loving breast, wherein God graciously dwell, as in a pallace of his delights. In him I desire to be Euer Yours vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

Your servant Post lay with me 2 nights, earnestly importuning me to send his thanckfull remembrance & service.

I am troubled about Nenekunats hunting, to whome Wequashcuck sends threatning of Capt. Masons visit. They haue importund me to write to Capt: Mason, which I haue done.

On the last first day was a great fray betweene Warrick men & those Indians, & blood spilt, & many cuts & hurts on both sides: who both on the 3rd day sent for me, who went, & (by Gods mercy) composed not only the præsent, but haue begun a treatie of full agreement with the natiues about their land, if the Bay please.

Sir, my love to Mr. Brewster, to whome I thought now to write; but by the next, if God please.

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* Dr. John Clark, physician of Newbury and Boston, who died in January, 1664–5. A good portrait of him is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the Worshipfull his kinde friend Mr. John Winthrop, Esq. at Pequt.

NAR. 16. 12. 49. (so calld)

SIR, — I reioiced exceedingly from your owne loving hand (by Robin Causasenamont) to receaue tidings of your healths after this sharpe time. Blessed be God, who hath provided warme lodging, foode, & clothing, & so seasonable & admirable an element of fire for his poore creatures against such times; the same blessed Lord make vs learne of his litle ants (Prou. 6.) to provide timely against eternall bitternes. *Hoc momentum vnde pendet æternitas.* For expedition I advised Robin to get ouer to Rode Iland himselfe, which I thinck he did, but I haue not since heard of him. I am sorry for this affliction to Mr. Smith in his daughters husband, & we feare Rich: Smith his son allso, but hope it will please God to giue vs tidings of deliuerance: howeuer, it is not safe for dust & ashes to tempt the Most High in fighting with his winter stormes without necessitie. I grieue that my deare countrimen of Conecticot are so troubled with that filthy devill of whorish practices, & more that yet they are perswaded of such courses to cast him out. Adulterie is a fire which will root out, but the gentiles, the nations of the world, will neuer be proued capeable of such lawes & punishments as that holy nation, bred up & fed with miraculous dispensations, were fit for. Sir, I humbly blesse God that hath vouchsafed you light & power to witnes against many evills of your countrimen, to His Honour & yours. As yet we haue not tidings from our mother. God mercifully fit vs for his holy pleasure in hearing, doing, suffring, living, dying:

He graciously guide you & your dearest by his councell to his glory: So prayes

Yours vnfayned ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mr. Throckmorton is preparing & waiting dayly for a season to visit you.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

NAR. 24. 12. 49. so calld.

KIND SIR, — Best salut, &c. In my last, by Consider, I forgot a passage about that letter to the Commissioners which you were pleased to take from me. Mr. Browne lately told me that he can not call to mind that euer it was produced; he conceaues, if you forgot not, that the Præsident did, or that it was supprest. I craue one line about it. Mr. Browne hath often profest libertie of conscience, but now the way of new baptisme spreads at Secunck as well as at Prouidence & the Iland. I haue bene so bold as to tell him that he persecutes his son & the people, & on the other side Mr. Newman also. Sir, if you haue Carpenter's Geographie, or other discourse about the Earths diurnall motion, spare it a litle to Yours most vnworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I pray if the Long Iland man be not gone, aske for a booke I lent him.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the Worshipfull his kind friend Mr. John Wintrop at Nameag.

NAR. 20. 1. 49 (so calld)

SIR, — Loving respects & best wishes to you both &c. By Nenekunat I received your last, relating a sound of

more bloudie showers about Old, & said trialls at our dores in N: Tis mercy that we haue not our personall shares in them, 'tis mercy we are not consumed. The Father of Lights vouchsafe vs sympatizing hearts & præpared to follow the Lambe through all tribulacions into Glory. Nenekunat now with me importunes me to write this to you, to pray you to take notice of a message that Kausa Senamon (your Robin) lately brought to him from Conecticut, viz. that he should discharge & send to Long Iland that young Sachim Tausaquonawhut, who hath lately maried his eldest daughter, because as Cap. Mason & the Magistrates say, he is a Pequt. He presents this answere to your selfe, & prayes you to present it to the English Sachims as you find occasion. He saith that this Tausaquonawhut was sought to by Onkas to marie his daughter, but he not affecting her (because of her sore eyes) came to his daughter, who falling in loue, he, & the mother, & daughter, & himselfe (Nenekunat) desire they might liue neere togeather, which they doe a small distance of. He saith some bring him word that the English will diuorce them: others that his daughter may follow him to Long Iland if she will.

He saith that the young man was a child when the Pequt wars were, & had no hand in opposition, &c. That he was not the son of any of those Sachims who fought against the English, but of Tattaopame, whom the Dutch slewe. That his mother allso is Wequashcucks wife. That there is no other coulour of his being hurtfull to the English, but by shewing them kindnes as they travell by his howse: which to my knowledge he is free to.

He prayes you not to loose your right, but send for a skin of a moose which was killd vpon one of your hummocks by Fishers Iland lately, & caried to Wequashcuck, as the lord.

Sir, I gladly expect your booke, & one of the Parliaments Declarations which I lent the Long Iland Englishman who past hereby in winter.

Sir, I desire to be euer yours vnfaigned

Roger Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*For his honoured kind fri[end] Mr. Wintrop at Pequt.**

Sir, — Yours received & sent. I pray in your next a word about Earles paper; a word of the warr against the natiues. I cannot yet get particulars touching Cromwell in Ireland, yet hope still that God will honour him, whome I hope he truely desires to honour. I grieue to vnderstand from your former that Moses is not vnderstood in N. E. touching what he did to that one nonesuch typicall & miraculous people of Israell; yet surely licentiousnes of all sorts needs a sharpe [*torn*] though too sharpe, & more then God requires or euer did in all nations equall to Israell, is destructiue, &c. Sir in hast

Yours euer unfaigned Roger W.

Sir, if you haue occasion to deale with Tho: Stant: or any vp to Qunnihticut for corne of any sort, I pray remember me if it were 500*ll:* I purpose to write to my old friend [Py]nc[h]on, & pray you if you haue occasio[n, in]timate a word to him.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the worshipfull kind friend Mr. Wintrop at Pequt.†

Sir, — Loving respects &c. These inclosed Mr. Throckmorton yesterday delivered to Mr. He: & Tho: Doxey, 2

* This letter has no date; but the writer, although he had not yet got the "particulars touching Cromwell in Ireland," possibly had heard rumors of his doings at Drogheda and Wexford in September and October of 1649. — Eds.

† The following note from John Elderkin is written upon the same page, and preceding this letter of Williams, in the original. — Eds.

Mr. Williams, — After my loue remembred to you, beinge thankfull to you for your kindnes to me, when I was with you, this is to intreat you to send me this letter to Pequit as spedly as you can, & if you be att charges about the sendinge of it, I willingly will pay you. Your servant to my power. John Elderkin.

Pro. 12th May, 1650.

dayes since put forth from Newport, but Mr. Throck: being a leage the formost, met vpon Point Judith with a gust from the souwest, which brought him on backstaues, laid his vessell on one side, in much danger, his canow fell ouer from him, & was lost, his oars &c. but God brought him mercifully safe in hither, & Tho: Doxy back to Newport, whither he hath now sent for his wife & Mrs. Arnold: Benedict having now bought howse & land at Newport, purposing thither to remoue. Sir, Tho: Doxy told me of your thoughts for England: this bearer, Mr. Thatcher, tells me he spake with some of the Bristoll ship, which say that 20 to one are for the Prince throughout the land, & wait for a change of wind, which (if God please to alter) is doubtles like to be very dreadfull, yet would I not discowrage you from listning to any evident call of that God who is able to cary whome he sends, through men & devills. Our Colonies Generall Court is now at Newport, where (vpon a fresh report of wars with France) our English is in demur of suffring the Frenchmen (who came in Bluefield[s] prise, flesht with bloud, & have bought a Frigat of Capt. Clarke,) to goe out vpon their voyage to West Indies, least they practice their trade vpon their own coast. Yet one of them, having layen with Mr. Amies daughter, (of Portsmouth), is like now to marry her. The parents of the English are troubled greatly. God mercifully bring good out of these evills.

Sir, it hath pleased God to quicken (by a Dutchman skipper, Lorence, now following fishing here about vs) some English that way, & Bened: desires to buy my shallop & further that worck, which I heartily desire (if God so please to fauour vs) may prosper with you & vs. The Natiues haue taken aboundance of sturgeon, & cod, & bass this yeare. Nawset English (where Mr. Prince is) putting forth 7 or 8 boats to fish this Spring, by the ouersetting of one boat, & losse of 2 men in the going out of the harbours mouth, were for the present discowraged. The Lord

vseth to temper great desires & hopes with such sharpes, I hope they will on againe. Sir, I want paper, rest yours

R. W.

There is a sound of the Narrig: warring vpon Rode Iland (which therevpon keepe watch,) but it is founded on a lye, as I shall informe you.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

[*Address obliterated.*]

Sir, — Deare respects to your deare selues & loving sister, reioicing in your peace, which may well with vs (after the Hebrew idiom) comprize the rest, &c. The messenger tells me you haue that tidings about P. Rupert, whose name in these parts sounds as a north east storme of snow. The Father of Mercies graciously avert, or (if he sees good for vs to bring it) shelter vs vnder the wings of his mercies, & gather vs vnder them by true humiliation. Our peace here this last night sounds very vncertaine. Indian newes hath doubtles something in it, of a 100 English from the Bay comming to Warrick & the Narriganset: to Warrick about controversies between Warrick men & Mr. Arnold: to Narrogans: for peag. They tell of their instant aproach. Mr. Throckmorton last night from Providence writes that Plimouth men were lately in great & hot debates about yielding their claime of these parts to the Bay, which, after much heat in voting, was by a committee cast to the Bay, whence I coniecture they now act.* God graciously turne it to his prayse howeuer, whateuer becomes of our peace. Sir, we haue great cause to sigh at the filthines in this land, & allso at the vnchristian wayes

* See Proceedings of the General Court of Plymouth, under date of 10 June, 1650, in Plym. Col. Records, ii. 158–60. — Eds.

of punishments. You may please to remember that I haue bene large (in the Bloodie Tenent), in the difference betweene that land of Israell & all others. It is in discussing of the modell. Mr. Cotton refers the answere to the rest of the elders, whose answer or reply I yet here not of, & pray you if you doe, to intimate. Tis a controuersie wherein I am deepely engaged, of which you will (if God please) see more. For your selfe, deare sir, you doe I presume (as in conscience to God & man, you can no lesse) propose your queries to your friends, of note for authoritie & abilitie: whose answers I should thanck you to see. Newton's case is eminent; poore man. God graciously arme him against the last great triall aproaching, where millions of men & devills numberles would ioy eternally to swone without returning. God graciously fit him & vs for that battell by these slight visitations, &c. For Saybroke, sir, you know I reioice & mourne: reioice that the Lord Jesus his name is more sounded, & mourne that not after the first patterne, in which I find no Churches extant framed, but all (by a dreadfull fate) opposing, dissolving, &c. & Perez Vzzah, the breaches & divisions wonderfull. The Portraicture,* I guesse is Bp. Halls, the stile is pious & acute, very like his, & J. H. subscribes the Epitaph: probably he presented these passages to the K. in the times of his restraint, for he was truely the Bps. K. & breathed from first to last absolute Monarchy & Episcopacie. Doubtles (*viis* & *modis*) he was guiltie of much blood. All that seemes waigty in my eye are the popular tumoults alleadged as the artifice of the Parl: Tis true it is a dangerous remedie, yet that which God vsed against Baals priests. The people as well as K. were stirrd vp for their death. The people for Johnathan against K. Saul. The people held the Pharises in aw, thirsting after Christ's &

* "'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. The Portraicture of his Sacred Majesty in his solitudes & sufferings," published just after the king's (Charles I.) death, and supposed by many to have been written by Bishop Gauden. — Eds.

the Apostles blood. Sir, pardon my paper in all its defects, & let me truely mourne that I am not more

Yours vnfaigned in Christ Jesus. R. W.

Sir, I am bold to add my mite &c., these inclosed.

Sir, hearing want of pins, I craue Mrs. Wintrops acceptance of 2 small papers, that if she want not herselfe, yet she may pleasure a neighbour.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his honoured kind friend Mr. John Wintrop at Pequt.

NAR. 17. 8. 50. (so calld)

KIND SIR, — Loving respects &c. The Captains demaund was 308 ffath: for the debt, & 200 for this expedition. They paid 140, & said it was the whole, & that the difference was made by the measure. They allso brought 240 for this Expedition: & upon the Captaines motion I prevailed with them to send 2 natiues, with a petition writ by myselfe to haue all cancelled. The Capt. promised to second the petition, which they said your loving selfe & Capt. Gibbons & Mr. Stanton had formerly presented in their behalfe.

I was (if not too) warme, insisting on the partialitie against the Nariganset & toward Onkas, & affirmed that Onkas might better steale many horses then Wenekunat looke ouer the hedge. I vrged Onkas his villanous dealing against your poore towne, your selfe, &c. There is a misterie in it, of which formerly, Sir, your selfe & I had some hints, & may, if it please the Lord to bring vs togeather before winter. The Capt: told me the busines was designed by the Commissioners, & that (as he perceaved) they were resolved to hazard a war vpon it &c. But

praised be the most holy, gracious, & only wise, who not only watcht ouer you & vs; but if I mistake not ouer the whole countrie, while the watchmen slept: for to me it is certaine, a war betweene the English & the Mauquawos, or betweene the English & the Narigansets, will, if not dispossesse many a planter & displant plantations; yet hazard much blood, & slaughter, & ruin to both English & Indian; & when soever this sor plauge of God comes, though vpon neuer so just a cause in the last way of remedie & extreamitie, yet it is one of his 3 most dreadfull earthly & temporall judgments vpon the children of men.

Sir, Tho: Doxie came in almost 3 weeks since, he had no mind for Prouidence, but stood away for Martin's Vinyard, left a letter for his wife here to meete him, who came in this day, some few howres since from Providence, but we heare not of Tho: so that the poore woman is much disconsolate, for to get from Prouidence she was forced to promise to come back, if Tho: would not come vp: yet Benedict writes to me & to hir here exceeding lovingly. I feare he is gone to Munnadoes to finish this voyage with the 2 Dutchmen with him. Kathrine presents service & prayes advice. The Father of mercies graciously blesse these trialls to her, that it may be for her good in the latter end, which I shall (through his grace) endeauour to further.

Sir, I am your vnworthy R. W.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his honoured kind friend Mr. Winthrop, at Pequt, These.

Sir, — Best salut &c. Yours by Elderkin (who predicates your iust praise in many respects &c.) common, philosophicall, morall virtue, *laudata crescit*, — how much

more should true, heavenly, & eternall? I wrote you largely the issue of things, & hope you haue received &c. In sum, that the Capt: had 140 fath. for the debt (which was all say the Indians, but 308 say the English) allso 240 for this charge. A petition I wrote to the Court for the Natiues touching the difference, & this bearer, Mr. Caukin, tells me it was accepted in the Court of Deputies (of which he was one). He tells me of a booke lately come ouer in Mr. Pynchon's name,* wherein is some derogation to the blood of Christ. The booke was therefore burnt in the Market place at Boston, & Mr. Pynchon to be cited to the Court. If it come to your hand, I may hope to see it; howeuer the Most High & only Wise will by this case discouer what libertie conscience hath in this land. Sir, as I wrote, Katherine came in hiether the day I wrote, to seeke Tho: Doxey, & he came in the next day after, & the next day to Prouidence togeather. She tells me (to giue Benedict content) she let Bened: write to her vnckle: but she her selfe writ priuately that if any thing were sent, it might be in howsehold stuff. I hope (yet feare) these trialls may take of Tho: from company, spending &c, vnto which your helpe will not be wanting. I thinck he will bring her to Pequt or Long Iland. Your tidings of God's renewed mercy again to Cromwell is confirmed: Sir, in his mercy rest you & yours, & in him I desire to be euer

Yours R. W.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, jun., "Mr. Williams, Octo: 23:" †

* Pynchon's book, "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," &c., was published in 1650, and arrived here during the session of the General Court in October; and that body ordered it to be burnt the next day "after the Lecture." See Mass. Col. Records, vol. iv. part i. pp. 29, 30. — Eds.

† 1650. The letters from p. 267 to this place, which have a date, were written, it will be seen, from Narragansett; and those not dated were doubtless written from the same place. Williams had purchased an estate, and built a trading-house, at "Caucaumsquissic," in the Narragansett country, embraced in what is now North Kingston, near the house of Richard Smith, who had preceded him there; and quite a number of his letters, dated from this place, will be found published in a former volume of "Collections" of this Society. Not long before his departure for England, in the autumn of 1651, Williams sold this place to Smith. See Knowles's Memoir of Roger Williams, p. 206 *et seq.*; 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., ix. 294. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my honourd kind friend Mr. John Wintrop at his house at Pequt in New England.

From Sir Henry Vane's at WHITEHALL,*
20, 2, 52. (So calld.)

KIND SIR, — Tis neere 2 in the morning, yet a line of my dearest remembrance to your loving selfe & yours, from whom I haue receaved so many loving lines continually. Our old friend Col. Humphries is gone, & lately allso Col. Cooke: yet blessed be God we liue, & through the jawes of death are landed safe, & behould the wonders, the *Magnalia* & *Miracula Dei* in England. I haue sent a large narration, both concerning Old England affaires & New, to Prouidence. I hope & desire you may see it. Mr. Peters is well at Whitehall. I haue often bene with him, he tells me he hath b[ut] that 200*li* per yeare which the Parliament gaue him, where of he allowes 4 score per annum to his wife. Your bro: Stephen is a great man for soule libertie. I haue mentioned you to Sir Henry Vane, who wisheth you were in our colonie; touching which you will see *Vestigia Dei* in my narration. At present I pray your acceptance of my poore papers, & tell you that I more & more desire to be euer

Yours in Christ Jesus ROGER WILLIAMS.

My kind loue to Mr. Stanton & other louing friends.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

SIR, — It hath not bene this sharpe & bitter season which could haue frozen my pen from saluting you both (having

* Mr. Williams was now in England; having sailed from Boston in November, 1651. He returned early in the summer of 1654. See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., x. 1. — EDS.

received yours some weekes since,) but I could not get a meeting with Nenekunat, & messengers effected nothing, which I sent to him. Your great triall, losse & hinderance I am exceedingly grieved at, & cordially wish it were in my hand to contribute to your abundant satisfaction & reparacion. I haue taken willingly any paines about it, & shall; & beg of God himselfe to please to make vp these gaps & breaches, with the teachings & comfortings of his Eternall Spirit.

I haue had a sollemne debate with Nenekunat & the rest of the Nariganset Sachims, in a late great meeting at Warwick, whether they came downe with 4 score armed men, to demaund satisfaction for the robbing of Pesiccush his sisters graue, & mangling of her flesh; against John Garriard, a Dutchman, whose crue, & it is feard, himselfe, committed that gastly & stincking vilanie against them. In this meeting the Sachims were vnanimous, & (as vnion strengthens) they were so bold as to talke often of mens liues, & of fighting with vs, & demaunded an English child for hostage vntill satisfaction, because John Garriard had liued at Warwick, & had goods & debts there still remaining. At last it pleased the Lord to pacifie all with our attaching of the Dutchman's goods & debts, vntill he haue made satisfaction (in the Dutch jurisdiction or the English) to the Sachims charge against him. There was in his crue one Samuel, a hatter, & one Jones, a seaman, & an Irishman, persons infamous, so that we feare John Garriard was drawne in by them, at least to consent to share with them in such a bootie.

Sir, this troublesome occasion furnished me with full agitacions about your wrongs & demaunds allso. And besids this I haue had both former & later discoursings & searchings with diuers Indians, & some that were present, & some that were disaffected to Nenekunat, and all answeres & agitations &c. amount to, first, an absolute deny-all that either the Sachims or people know of any catle of

yours slaine by themselues or the Inlanders, excepting 3 or 4 goats, which the Paucomtuck Indians kild in their breaking vp in displeasure, & departure from Nenekunat, & in their march toward the Easterne end of your iland homeward.

2. They affirme that such slaughters could not possibly be made by any of themselues or the strangers, but they should know of it, being intermingled with them in all their quarters: & whereas I said they were long there, & had spent provisions; they say they had 3 canowes continually going from your iland to Pequt for provision; which though sometime the winds hinderd some howres, yet by day or by night they alwayes came, & brought supply.

3. They say that some English whome you trusted there, not only gaue Nenekunat one goat, but they haue known diuers giuen or sold to English or Dutch pinnaces. I confesse, sir, this last came not within my thoughts to sauour of truth, vntill conferring with some English further, I find it vndeniable from many English witnesses, that many goats haue bene sold (& some at cheape prises,) by some whome you haue trusted, to many vessells. Some of the vessells belong to our townes, & they name your kinsman Mr. Symons. The particulars are many: one I shall hint, that you may review whether you had account of it or no: Mr. Smiths vessell gaue him an ell of holland for one goat, which in our parts would yeald about 14*s*: so that I heare some vessells brought (more then for present spending) some liue goats along with them.

Sir, this English worck I belieue is true, although I dare not absolue the barbarians from your charge, & therefore shall still continue my vtmost care & search.

Sir, the tidings stirring amongst vs is (as is said) from a ship (about 4 months since arriued from England,) reporting slaughters of Scotch & English in diuers battailes fought in Scotland; but (as is said) the Lord was pleased to turne the scales to the English. It is said allso that the

Parliament (which was to begin the 3rd of 7ber) was broke vp in discontent. It is said that a fleete was designed against Hispaniola, & that Mr. Winslow goes in chiefe command, or to be Governour.* Sir, I yet belieue not this first sound of things, & yet I belieue them to be very like to be true, & greater & greater Revolutions aproaching. The invisible & eternall Jehovah will make his justice & mercy more & more visibly glorious, in æternall successiue discoueries of himselfe to his, & to the worcks & creatures of his mighty hand.

It hath pleased God, sir, to take away (some few dayes since) the wife of our Joshua Windsor (once a servant to your deare father). She had made a passionate wish that God would part them, & take away him or her. It pleased his Jealousie to heare her, & to take away a child in her wombe allso, of which she could not be deliuered.

We haue had some gusts amongst vs as to our whole Colonie & civill order. At my comming ouer our neighbours were run into divisions. By the good hand of the Lord they were perswaded to choose 24 Commissioners (6 out of a towne) to reconcile. They vnited & haled me out (sore against my spirit) to publike service: yet the spirits of some haue not bene so reconcileable: Tho: Olney & my brother in our towne, (vpon private grudges), Mr. Easton & Mr. Dyer at Newport, fearing Sabaudies pinnace must be paid for, which case the Court at Massachusets lately would not determine, but left it to be tried in our owne Colonie, which was the late answer of the Court at Ipswich to Mr. Ames, who sued Mr. Dyer in the Bay. What plots & diggings haue bene vsed to overturne all Courts, that so there might be an escape, & therefore Newport is made to stand of (except some few) from the rest of the Colonie.

* Edward Winslow was appointed by Cromwell commissioner to attend the expedition against Hispaniola in 1655; and died on the passage, between that island and Jamaica, May 8 of that year. — Eds.

Sir, we haue a sound of a Gen: Governour, & that Baron Rigby his son is the man: but jt is time to excuse this prolixitie, & to end with humble desires to the most Holy & Eternal King to protect, to direct, & comfort your spirit in all present & future trialls. So prays, Sir,

Yours most vnworthy R. W.

Sir, these inclosed were sent to me from Mr. White, now wintring at Warwick. It is said he hath skill in most worcks: many of ours haue thoughts of trying his skill about a new bridge at Prouidence, & he hath promised to come ouer to vs to consult, but the weather hath hindred.

Mr. Foote hath once & againe mooved for Iron Workes at Prouidence. He tould me that you had speech with him about his getting of jron men to Pequt, but he thought your selfe would be willing to promote the worck as well here as there, & therefore promised me to write to you. If I had power in my hand I would venture to such a publike good, & howeuer would gladly contribute all assistance, especially if your loving spirit & experience be pleased to giue encowragement.

Sir, I haue not at present by me a copie (fair or foule) of my Consideracions presented to the Gen: Court at Boston: something there is in them of passages betweene the Lord Protector & my selfe; otherwayes they are but knowne things (especially to your selfe): howeuer, if possible I can, I will present your desire with the sight of them.

Post S. — Sir, this letter hath long lain by expecting conveyance. Indeede Nenekunat promised to send a messenger for them, but (whether the winter or other occasions hindred, sicknes, death, &c.) yet jt hath stuck by me as an arrow in my side, least I should seeme to neglect such a friend & such a case.

For the fleete of which you please a line (in this your

welcome tidings of your healths) we heare of 60 or an 100 saile. I know the Protector had strong thoughts of Hispaniola & Cuba. Mr. Cotton's interpreting of Euphrates to be the West Indies: the supply of gold, (to take of taxes), & the provision of a warmer *Diuerticulum* & *Receptaculum* then N. England is, will make a footing into those parts very precious, & if it shall please God to vouchsafe successe to this fleete, I looke to heare of an invitation at least to these parts for remoovall, from his Highnes, who lookes on N. E. only with an eye of pitie, as poore, cold & vseles.

And surely this nonesuch winter is like to set any wheele a going for remoovalls of uery many.

Capt. Gibbons at beginning of this winter (as I presume you haue long since heard) made this winter his last, & is departed.

Mr. Dunster (as is said) expecting to be outed about his judgment of childrens baptisme, withdrew himselfe, & Mr. Chancie, who was shipt for England, is now master of the Colledge.*

We allso here that 2 of Mr. Dells† bookes were lately burnt at the Massachusetts, (possibly) containing some sharpe things against the Presbyterians & Academians, of which I brought ouer one cald the Triall of Spirits.

I pray you to read & returne this Jew. I haue allso an answere to him by a good plaine man, expounding all which the Jew takes literally, in a spirituall way: & I haue (in a discourse of a Knight (L'Estrange) proving Americans no Jewes) another touch against him: howeuer, I rejoiced to see such industrious spirits breathing in that people toward the Messiah or Christ of God.

Mr. Foot is said (at present) to resolue for the Dutch:

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* See Quincy's Hist. of Harvard University, vol. i. pp. 17, 18; and Appendix, p. 466. — Eds.

† William Dell, master of Gonvill and Caius College, Cambridge, published, in 1653, "The Tryall of Spirits, both in Teachers and Hearers;" and "The Stumbling Stone." — Eds.

vpon occasion of my declaring against his man, Mr. Fowlers disorderly marriage in Mr. Foots howse, without any publication, & vpon that occasion my refusing to promote the Iron Worcks as yet; he is displeased, & speaks of departure. I truely loue & pitie the man, yet surely from him haue the Indians bene furnished with store of liquors; from his howse haue the incivilities of our towne bene much encouraged, & much evill reports he hath incur'd about this mariage. He saith he knew not of it till ouer night. But (although the pretended mariage was not,) jt may be, resolued on before ouer night, yet I am sorry to heare such talke in the towne of what he knew before. Sir, the truth is (as one said to Queen Elizabeth) *Profecto omnes sumus licentiâ deteriores.* We enioy liberties of soule & body, but it is licence we desire, except the Most Holy helpe vs: in whome Sir, I desire to be euer

Yours R: W:

15. 12. 54. (so calld.)

Mine & my wiues true respects to Mrs. Wintrop, &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my honoured kind friend Mr. Wintrop at his howse at Pequt. Leaue this with Mr. White of Warwick.

PROUIDENCE 23. 1. $\frac{54}{55}$ (so calld.)

SIR, — Cordiall respects presented. Mr. White comming to you can not come without salut: I haue this last weeke many letters from England: but all dated the first weeke of the Parliaments sitting: The howse consisted most of Presbiterian fautors. All that are waved are rancked into Cavaliers & Levellers: vpon the grand question of the Supreame Legislatiue, the Lord Bradshaw spake openly that if a Parliament were not supreame, then was he a murtherer of K. Cha[rles]. Sir Arthur Hazelrig

spake high: but the report is double: some say a vote past that they would not dispute that point, some say they did dispute, & therefore a breach followed, & the jmprisonment of Bradshaw & Hazelrig, &c. & jt is said here (by Dutch newes) 2 beheaded. The Protectour in his speech told them he had setled the 3 Nations, had made peace with Holland, Denmarke, Swedeland, Switzerland, & entred far into a treatie with France, &c. The sea preparations of the English renderd others jealous: so that (& the troubles of the Dutch among themselues, which cause them to keepe a guard of 800 at the Hauge) that caused new orders to the Admiraltie, for carefull striking to the English: Gen: Blake with his fleete was bound for the Southward: Gen: Pen & Mr. Winslow with him for the West. It is feard that his poore wife will misse him. He writes to N. Plymmouth that (except the Parliament prohibited) they were ready to set saile: he hath new fitted himselfe & sent ouer his former apparell. The Portugall embassadour* hath bene beheaded for a murther in the Exchange, & Mrs. Mohun & her maid stood in the pillorie before the Exchange, for attempting his escape by womens apparell. Mr. Marshall, & Viner, & Mr. Tho: Goodwin, minister to the Parliament. Mr. Goodwin prest the instance of Pharoah & the l[et]ting of Gods people free to worship, least the Lord send new plauges & breaches. Sir, your messenger calls: I end.

Yours vnworthy R. W.

I shall be thanckfull for the Jesuits Maximes, of which I haue heard, but saw them not.

We heare from the Bay that Capt. Leveret tooke a Dutch ship lately vpon the Act for Trade: whether jt be for that or words, he js bound to appeare at the Gen: Court.

* Dom Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, was executed, July 10, 1654, for the murder of Mr. Greenway at the Exchange. — Eds.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my honoured kind friend Mr. John Wintrop, at Pequt, these.

PROUIDENCE, 1. 1. 55 (so calld.)*

SIR, — Loving respects & best wishes &c. I lately presented you with a line by Mr White: since I received more letters from England, confirming the tidings of 2 great fleetes ready to set saile from England the beginning of September. The one with Gen: Blake for the Southward; the other with Gen: Pen for the West Indies. To him was joined Mr. Winslow, as Councellour, designed Governour of what part should be conquerd. The Parliament sat, & after 3 dayes debate about the last change of Government, the Lord Protectour sent for the Parliament into the Painted Chamber, & tould them that there was a reciprocation, & that the same power which made him Protectour had calld the Parliament, & therefore before they should sit againe, he must require a test, or recognition by subscription to his negatiue voice, as to the present government by a Protectour & a Parliament, as to the not sitting of the Parliament aboue 5 months, as to the malitia, & as to persecution for religion. To this purpose a table was set neere the Parliament dore, whereon the recognition was presented in parchment, vnto which Mr. Lenthall, the Speaker, & 140 subscribed presently & entred: some dissented, among whom were Bradshaw & Hazelrig, who, (it is said) are in the Tower. The Portugall Embassadours brother was beheaded for a murther, & one Coll: whose name I yet know not. One Mrs. Mohun stood on the pillorie, for attempting the Portugalls escape in womans apparell.

The 3rd of 7ber, the day of the Parliaments first sitting, was seene in the heauens ouer Hull, 2 armies fighting;

* This letter was evidently written after that which next precedes it; and it may be supposed that the date should be "1. 2. 55," instead of 1. 1. as in the original. — EDS.

the one from the norwest which worsted the other from the east, both red: then a black armie from the norwest which worsted the red from the east, & remained victour. Some that saw jt said they saw the like at the beginning of the late Long Parliament.

Holland had great trouble with Zeland, & the Orengian faction, so that the Hague & Amsterdam were strongly guarded. New orders were sent to their Admiraltie for carefull striking to the English.* Sir, with prayers for your health & eternall peace, I rest yours in all services of loue. R. W.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my honoured kind frjend Mr. Wintrop, Governour, at Hartford, present.

PROVIDENCE 28. 3, 64. (so calld.)

SIR, — Meeting (this instant before sun rise, as I went to my field &c) an Indjan running back for a glasse, bound for your parts, I thought (since *nihil sine Providentja*) that an Higher Spirit then his owne, might purposely (like Jonathans boy) send him back for this hastie salutatjon to your kind selfe & your deare companjon.

Sir, I wajted for a gale to returne you many cordjall thancks for your many cordjall expressions of ancient kindnes to my selfe, & the publike peace & wellfare: I haue since bene occasioned & drawne (being nominated in the Charter to appeare againe vpon the deck,) from my beloved privacie: my humble desires are to contribute my poore mite (as I haue euer, & I hope euer shall) to

* In the treaty between Great Britain and the States-General, concluded at Westminster, April 5, 1654, it was agreed that the ships of the United Provinces, meeting any English ship-of-war in the British seas, should strike the flag and lower the topsail. — EDS.

preserue plantation & publiks interest of the whole N. E. & not interest of this or that towne, colony, opinion, &c.

Sir, when we that haue bene the eldest, & are rotting, (to morrow or next day) a generatjon will act, I feare, far vnlike the first Wintrops & thejr Modells of Loue:* I feare that the common Trinitie of the world, (Profit, Præferment, Pleasure) will here be the *Trja omnia*, as in all the world beside: that Prælacie & Papacie too will in this willdernes prædominate, that God Land will be (as now jt js) as great a God with vs English as God Gould was with the Spaniards &c. While we are here, noble sir, let vs *Viriliter hoc agere, rem agere humanam, divinam, Christjanam*, which I belieue is all of a most publike genius.

Sir, those words in our Charter concerning the Nariganset (notwithstanding a late graunt to the Colony of Conectjcut) &c., are so taking with my neighbours, that Resolutions were vp (this last Court) of fetching old Mr. Smith presently, because of his new engagement to Conecticut: jt pleased God to helpe me to stop that councell, & to prævajle that only a boate was sent, with a loving letter to invite him, & he came not, but said well, viz. that when the Colonies were agreed, he would submit. Sir, 3 dayes hence Major Denison & Mr. Damport meete from the Bay with Mr. Greene of Warwick, & Mr. Torey of Newport, at Secunck, to compose the strife betweene vs: I hope your honoured selfe & Major Mason, & some of the graue Elders &c., will helpe on such worck betweene your selues & vs, allso, vnto which I hope the Father of mercies will helpe me to be your & the countries servant in all respect & faythfullnes† R. W.

Raptim.

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* This may be a reference to Gov. Winthrop's Model of Christian Charity, a sermon written on board the "Arbella." See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vii. 33. — Eds.

† See further, in relation to the subject of the concluding paragraph of this letter, in R. I. Col. Records, ii. 47, &c.; Arnold's Hist. of R. I., i. 307. — Eds.

On the outside, in Williams's handwriting.

Just now I find this bearer to be Miantunomues son.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop of Connecticut, "Mr. Rog: Williams rec: Saturday Jun: 25 1664."

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my honoured kind frjend Mr. John Winthorp, Governour of his Majesties Colony of Conecticut, present.

From Mr. Richard Smiths, June 13, 1675 (*vt vulgo*)*

Sir, — Mr. Smith being at Newport, I am occasioned to present my old & constant loue & respects, as also Mrs. Smiths great thancks & service to you. Sir, Mr. Smith deliuered me 2 letters, the one from Mr. Fitch, the other from Mr. John Mason, praying me (according to the contents of the letters) to enquire of Mawsup, (now calld Canounicus),† whether Oncas had stird him vp against the Wunnashowatuckowogs, to kill them, &c. Sir, a fortnight since I went to Cawnownicus his howse, but he was gone 12 mile of: I sought him againe yesterday, & found him 5 mile from his howse: I shewd him the letters: I vsed allso your honoured name, & the names of your honoured Assistants, both concerning the killing of the English cattell in these parts; as allso concerning thejr cariage toward the Wunnashowattuckoogs who are respected by your selues.

Sir, Caunounicus & other Sachims & his Councell profess they will be carefull of the English & their cattell among them: allso that they will shew respect to those

* Smith's residence was at Wickford, in the present town of North Kingston. It is supposed that he had established himself there as early as 1640. See Updike's Hist. of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, R.I., Intro. xv. *et seq.* — Eds.

† This Indian is better known by the name of Pessacus. He was born about the year 1623, and was about twenty years of age when his brother Miantonomo, whom he succeeded, was put to death. Canonicus, the "great sachem," died in 1647. See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 308; R. I. Hist. Coll., iii. 173. — Eds.

Showatuks for your sake, & in particular (which answers Mr. Fitch & Mr. Mason's letters) Caunounicus vtterly denies that Onkas euer sollicited him to kill or molest those Showatuks. Withall he added 2 reasons. First, that jt js not credible that since Onkas killd his brother Miantunnomu, he (Canounicus) should be sollicited by Onkas in such a busines, or that he should gratifie Onkas desires, &c. 2, Both himselfe, & Nananawtunu* (Miantunnomu's yongest, very hopefull sparke) desire earnestly that Tatuphosuwut, Onkas his son, who hath killd a Wiyow (or Sachim) one of thejr cousins, may suffer impartially, as now the English haue dealt with the 3 Indians which killd John Sossiman. Allso they praid me to add, that your selfe are not ignorant of Onkas his many fowle practices, & how he treacherously sent an head (or heads) of the Qunnihticut Indians to the Mauquawogs, & would send your heads allso as presents if he could come at them. Sir, Nananawtinu added this argument for impartiallitie toward Tatuphosuit: I am (said he) my father Miantunnomues son, as Tatuphosuit is to Onkas: if there should partialitie be shewd to him, & that money should buy out mens liues, or that one of his men should die for him, then all we young Sachims shall haue a temptation laid before vs to kill & murther, &c., in the hope of the like impunitie.

Sir, jt js true that Phillip (fearing apprehension) stood vpon his guard with his armed barbarjans. Taunton, Swansie, Rehoboth, & Providence stood vpon ours, but praised be God, the storme js ouer, Phillip is strongly suspected, but the honoured Court at Plymmouth (as we heare) not having evidence sufficient, let matters sleepe, & the countrey be in quiet, &c.

Sir, I constantly thinck of you, & send vp one remem-

* *Alias* "Canonchet" (by which name he is better known), at this time the acknowledged sachem of the Narragansetts. See Hubbard's Present State of New England, &c., p. 67. — Eds.

brance to heauen for you, & a groan from my selfe for my selfe, when I pass *Elizabeths Spring. Here is the spring say I (with a sigh) but where js Elizabeth? My charity answers, she is gone to the Eternal Spring & Fountaine of Living Waters:† Oh, Sir, I beseech the Father of Mercies & Spirits to preserue your precious soule in life (long & long [*a portion of the letter and the signature destroyed.*]

Sir, about a fortnight since your old acquaintance Mr. Blackstone‡ departed this life in the fowrscore year of his age: 4 days before his death he had a great pain in his breast, & back, & bowells: afterward he sajd he was well, had no paines, & should liue, but he grew fainter, & yealded vp his breath without a groane. The Lord make vs wait (with Job) for that great change.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my much honoured kind frjend Mr. John Winthorp, Governour of Conecticut, present.

From Mr. Smiths at Nahigonsik, June 25, 75 (*vt vulgo*)

Sir, — This inclosed of a former date comes to my hand again at Mr. Smiths. Mr. Smith is now absent at Long Iland: Mrs. Smith, though too much favouring the Foxians (calld Quakers) yet she js a notable spirit for courtesie toward strangers, & prays me to present her great thanks for your constant remembrance of her, & of late by Capt. Atherton.

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* The spring so called from Governour Winthrop's Lady, named Elizabeth, drinking at it as she passd to Boston. — *Note by a later hand; probably by John Winthrop, F.R.S.*

† Mrs. Elizabeth Winthrop, the wife of John Winthrop, Jr., died 24th November, 1672. — Eds.

‡ William Blackstone, the first English inhabitant of Boston, died at his house, near Study Hill, in Cumberland, R.I., May 26, 1675. See 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., x. 170–173. — Eds.

Sir, this morning are departed from this howse Capt: Huchinson & 2 more of Boston Commissioners from the Governour & Councill at Boston to the Nahigonsik & Cowwesit Indjans. They came (3 days since) to my howse at Providence, with a letter to my selfe from the Governour & Council at Boston, praying my advice to their Commissioners & my assistance &c. in thejr negociatjons with the Nahiggonsik Indjans. I (within halfe an howres warning) departed with them toward the Nahigonset. We had one meeting that night with Quaunoncku, Miantunnomu's youngest son, & vpon the opening of the Governours letters, he readily & gladly assented to all the Governours desires, & sent post to Mausup (now calld Caunounicus), to the Old Queen,* Ninicraft & Quawnipund,† to giue vs a meeting at Mr. Smiths. They being vncivill & barbarous, & the Old Queen (especially) timerous, we condiscended to meete them all neere the great pond, at least 10 mile from Mr. Smiths howse. We lajd open the Governours letter: & accordingly they professed to hould no agreement with Phillip, in this his rising against the English. They professed (though Vnkas had sent 20 to Philip, yet) they had not sent one, nor would: that they had prohibited all thejr people from going on that side, that those of their people who had made mariages with them, should returne or perish there: that if Phillip or his men fled to them, yet they would not receaue them, but deliuer them vp vnto the English.

They questioned vs why Plymmouth pursued Phillip. We answered: he broke all laws, & was in armes of rebellion against that Colony, his ancient frjends & protectours, though it js believed that he was the author of murthering John Sossiman, for revealing his plots to the Governour

* Quaiapen. She had been the wife of "Meika," *alias* "Maxanno" (eldest son of Canonicus, the great sachem); and, after his death, was called the "Suncke Squaw," or "Old Queen of the Narragansetts." See R. I. Hist. Coll., iii. 172. — Eds.

† Probably the same as Quanopen, a Narragansett chief. *Ibid.*, 173. — Eds.

of Plymmouth, & for which the 3 actours were 2 weeks sine executed at Plymmouth, (though one brake the rope, & is kept in prison vntill their Court in 8ber).

2. They demaunded vs why the Massachusets & Rode Iland rose, & joynd with Plymmouth against Phillip, & left not Phillip & Plymmouth to fight jt out. We answered that all the Colonies were subject to one K. Charls, & jt was his pleasure, & our dutie & engagement, for one English man to stand to the death by each other, in all parts of the world.

Sir, 2 particulars the Most Holy & Only Wise made vse of to ingage (I hope & so doe the Commissioners) in earnest to enter into those aforesaid engagements.

First, the sence of their owne danger if they seperate not from Plymmouth Indjans, & Phillip their desperate head. This argument we set home vpon them, & the Bays resolucion to pursue Phillip (if neede be) & his partakers with thouhsands of horse & foote, besjde the other Colonies, &c.

2. Their great & vehement desire of justice vpon Tatuphosuit, for the late killing of a Nahiggonset young men [*sic*] of account with them, which point while we were discoursing of, & thejr instance with me to write to the Governour & Councill of Massachusets about jt (which I haue this morning done by thejr Commissioners) in comes (as from Heauen) your dear son Major Wintrop to our assistance, who affirmed that he saw Tatuphosujt sent bound to Hartford jaole, & his father Onkas taking boat with him. The Sachims sajd they knew it, & had written about it (by my letter inclosed) to your selfe: but they were informed that he was set free, & was keeping his Nicommo, or dance in trjumph, &c. Your son replied that either jt was not so, or if it were, it was according to your law of leaving Indians to Indjan justice, which if neglected you would then act, &c. In fine, their earnest request was that ejther Tatuphosuit might haue impartiall justice, (for many reasons) or els they might be permitted

to right themselus, which the Commissioners thought might be great prudence (in this juncture of affajrs) that these 2 nations, the Nahiggonsik & Monhiggons might be taken of from assisting Phillip (which passionately he endeavors), & the English may more securely & effectually prosecute the quenching of this Philippian fire in the beginning of jt. The last night they haue (as is this morning sajd) slaine 5 English of Swansie, & brought their heads to Phillip, & mortally wounded 2 more, with the death of one Indjan. By letters from the Governour of Plymmouth to Mr. Coddington, Governour of Rode Iland, we heare that the Plymmouth forces (about 200) with Swansie & Rehoboth men, were this day to giue battell to Phillip. Sir, my old bones & eys are weary with travel, & writing to the Governours of Massachusets & Rode Iland, & now to your selues. I end with humble cryes to the Father of Mercies to extend his ancient & wonted mercies to N. England, & am, Sir,

Your most vnworthy Servant ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mrs. Smith earnestly desjres your loving advice to her husband, to lay by his voyage to England: partly by reason of his inward griefe, & allso that his busines may be transacted by delegation. She prays you also to consider your owne age & weaknes, & not to lay your precious bones in England.

Sir, my humble respects to your honoured Councell.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

From MR. SMITHS, 27 June 75 (so calld)

SIR, — Since my last (inclosed) the next day after the departure of Capt. Huchinson & the messengers from Boston, a partie of 100 Nahiggonsik Indjans, armed,

marched to Warwick, which as jt frighted Warwjck, so did it allso the inhabitants here; though since we heare that the partie departed from Warwick without blood shedding: howeuer jt occasioned the English here (& my selfe) to suspect that all the fine words from the Indjan Sachims to vs were but words of policie, falshood & treacherje: especially since now the English testifie, that for diverse weekes (if not months) canoes passed to and again (day & night betweene Phillip & the Nahigonsiks) & the Nahiggonsik Indjans haue committed many robberjes on the English howses. Allso it is thought that Phillip durst not haue proceeded so far, had he not been assured to haue bene seconded & assisted by the Monhiggins & Nahigonsiks.

Two days since, the Governour & Councill of Rode Iland sent letters & messengers to Mausup (Caunounicus) inviting him to come to them to Newport, & assuring him of safe conduct to come & depart in safetje. His answere was that he could not depart from his child which lay sick: but (as he had assured the Boston messengers) so he professed to these from Newport, that his heart affected & sorrowed for the English, that he could not rule the youth & common people, nor perswade others, chiefe amongst them, except his brother Miantunnomu's son Nananautunu. He advised the English at Nahiggonsik to stand vpon thejr guard, to keepe strict watch, &, if they could, to fortifie one or more howses strongly, which if they could not doe, then to flie. Yesterday Mrs. Smith (after more, yea most of the women & children gone) departed in a great showre, by land, for Newport, to take boat in a vessel 4 mile from her howse. Sir, just now comes in Sam: Djer in a catch from Newport, to fetch ouer Jireh Bulls wife & children, & others of Puttaquomscut.* He brings word that

* In the present town of South Kingston, on "Tower Hill," where Bull had a garrison-house, which, in December following, was attacked by the Indians, and ten men and five women and children were killed, but two escaping. See Hubbard's Present State, &c., p. 50. — Eds.

last night Caleb Cars boat (sent on purpose to Swansie for tidings) brought word that Phillip had killd 12 English at Swansie, (the same Canounicus told vs,) & that Phillip sent 3 heads to them, but he advised a refusall of them, which some say was done, only the old Queene rewarded the bringers for thejr travell. Caleb Carr sajth allso that one English sentinel was shot in the face & slain by an Indjan that crept neer vnto him: that they haue burnt about 12 howses, one new great one (Anthony Loes): that Phillip hath left his place, being a neck, & 300 of Plymmouth English, Swansie & others know not where he js, & therefore Capt. Oliuer (being at Mr. Brown's) rode post to Boston for some hundreths of horse: that some hurt they did about Providence, & some say John Scot, at Pawtucket ferry, is slaine. Indeede Canounicus advised the English to take heed of remajning in lone out places, & of travelling in the common roade.

Sir, many wish that Plymmouth had left the Indjans alone, at least not to put to death the 3 Indjans vpon one Indjan's testimony, a thing which Phillip fears; & that your selues (at this juncture) could leave the Monhiggins & Nahiggonsjcks to themselues as to Tatuphusoit, if there could be any just way by your General Court found out for the preuenting of their conjunction with Philip, which so much concerneth the peace of New England. Vpon request of the Government of Plymmouth, Rode Iland hath set out some sloops to attend Phillips motjons by water & his canoes: jt is thought he bends for an escape to the Inlands. Sir, I feare the inclosed & this will be grjevous to those wonderfull visiue spirits which looke out at your windowes: mine, I am sure complain, &c, yet I presse them for your & the publike sake, for why js our candle yet burning, but to glorifie our dreadfull Former, & in making our owne calling & electjon sure, & serving God in serving the publike in our generatjon.

Your vnworthy servant R. W.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For my honoured kind frjend Mr. Jo: Winthorp Governour of Conecticut Colony, at Boston or elswhere, present.
Leaue this at my loving friends Dan: Smith at Rehoboth.

PROVIDENCE 18. 10. 75. (*vt vulgo.*)

SIR, — If you are stjl in Boston (which owes you more & your precious name, then jt js like to pay you) please you to pass by, that I haue not troubled you with a late salutation. The present revolutions of the wonderfull & all sighted wheels (Ezek. 1.) rowse vp my sleepie spirits to muse & write, & to present your selfe & others with what I believe to be the mind & voyce of the Most High amongst vs. Others thinck otherwise (& some clean contrary); vnto whom I say at present, let them take the pains which God mercifully hath helpd me to take, to find out where's the difference: let them suffer what (& so long) God hath helpd me to beare for thejr beliefe & conscience: let them debate freely, calmly, &c. as I hope God hath helped me & will help me to doe, (without the Pope's sword, which Christ commanded Peter to put vp in his matters.)

Sir, I haue heard that you haue bene in late consultacions, *semper jdem*, *semper pacificus*, & I hope therein *beatus*. You haue always bene noted for tendernes toward mens soules, especially for conscience sake to God. You haue bene noted for tendernes toward the bodjes & infirmities of poor mortalls. You haue bene tender to, toward the estates of men in your civill steerage of government, & toward the peace of the land, yea of these wjld savages. I presume you are satisfied in the necessitie of these present hostilitjes, & that it is not possible at present to keepe peace with these barbarous men of bloud, who are as justly to be repelld & subdued as wolues

that assault the sheepe. It was . . . *in* . . . *est* . . . *rjum:* * God hath helpt yourselfe & other [*torn*] with wonderfull selfe denyall & patience to keep of this necessitie. But God (against whom only is no fighting) is pleased to put this jron yoake vpon our necks, & (as he did with the Canaanits) to harden them against Joshua to their destruction. I fear the euent of the justest war: but if jt please God to deliuer them into our hands, I know you will *antiqum obtinere*, & still endeavour that our sword may make a difference, & *parcere subjectjs*, though we *debellare superbos*. God killeth, destroyeth, plaugeth, damneth none but those that will perish, & say (as these barbarjans now say) Nippittoj; Thoug I die for jt, &c.

Sir, I hope the not approach of your deare son with his, (your forces of Conecticut) &c., is only through the intercepting of the posts: for we haue now no passing by Elizabeths Spring * without a strong foote. God will haue it so. Dear Sir, if we cannot save our patients, nor relations, nor Indians, nor English, oh let vs make sure to saue the bjrd in our bozome, & to enter in that straight dore & narrow way, which the Lord Jesus himselfe tells vs, few there be that find jt. Sir, your vnworthy

R. W.

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

Boston. Jan: 6: 1675

Honored Sir, — May these few hasty lines salute you acceptably though only to certify the receiving of yours of the 18 of the former, & to thank you for that kindnesse, & that little volume of poetry therewith. *Pictoribus atque Poetis, quod libet audendi, semper fuit æqua potestas.* Some present indisposition, & the rigorous season prohibits discourse about those particulars in your letter; had leisure

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* This sentence has been carefully erased. — Eds.

† See *ante*, p. 298. — Eds.

permitted, your paraphrase about that necessarie mentioned in reference to the present juncture, as to those barbarians might it not haue inlightened some darke corners, you having the advantage of knowing the hidden contrivances, confederances, actions & machinations of those brutish salvages, well compared in your letter to ravening wolves assaulting the sheepe: I shall only at present add my loving respects to you both & remaine

Yours according to ancient friendship

Semper idem, J. W.*

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN LEVERETT.

To the much honoured Governour Leveret at Boston present.

PROVIDENCE 14 Jan. 75 (so calld)

SIR, — This night I was requested by Cap: Fenner & other officers of our towne to take the examination & confession of an English man who hath bene with the Indians before & since the fight: his name is Joshua Tift † & he was taken by Capt. Fenner this day at an Indian howse halfe a mile from where Capt. Fenner's howse (now burnd) did stand. Capt. Fenner & others of vs proposed seuerall questions to him, which he answered, & I was requested to write, which I did, & thought fit having this bearer (Mr. Scot) brought by God's gracious hand of Providence to mine, to present you with an extract of the pith & substance of all he answered to vs.

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* The above is a rough draught in the hand of John Winthrop, jun., of Connecticut. It is indorsed, "Copy to Mr. Roger Williams at Providence;" and was found enclosed in the preceding letter. John Winthrop, jun., died in Boston, April 5, 1676, — about three months after it was written. — EDS.

† He was called a renegade, had married a Wampanoag Indian woman, had adhered to the Indians in this war, and was active in the great swamp fight. He was executed 18th January, four days after the date of this letter. A sorry account of him is given in Hutchinson, i. 302, and in Hubbard's Present State, &c., p. 59. — EDS.

He was askt by Capt. Fenner, how long he had bene with the Nahigonsiks. He answered about 27 days, more or lesse.

He was demaunded how he came amongst them. He sajd that he was at his farme a mile & halfe from Puttuckquomscut, where he hired an Indian to keepe his cattell, himselfe purposing to goe to Rode Iland, but that day which he purposed & prepard to depart, there came to his howse Nananawtenu (the young Sachim) his elder brother Paupauquivwut, with thejr Captaine Quaquackis & a partie of men, & told them he must die. He sajd that he beg'd for his life, & promised he would be servant to the Sachim while he lived. He saith the Sachim then carjed him along with him, hauing giuen him his life as his slaue. He sajd that he brought him to thejr Fort, where was about 800 fighting men & about 200 howses. He sajd the Indjans brought 5 of his cattell & killd them before his face: so he was forct to be silent, but praid the Sachim to spare the rest: who answered him what will cattell now doe you good; & the next day they sent for the rest & killd them all, whereof 8 were his owne.

Being askt whether he was in the Fort in the fight,* he saith yes, & wayted on his master the Sachim there, vntill he was wounded (of which wound he lay 9 days & died.) He sajth that all the Sachims were in the Fort & stajd 2 vollies of shot, & then they fled with his master, & passed through a plaine, & rested by the side of a spruce swampe, but he sajth himselfe had no arms at all. He saith that if the Monhiggins & Pequts had bene true, they might haue destroyed most of the Nahiggonsiks: but the Nahigonsiks parlied with them in the beginning of the fight, so that they promised to shoote high, which they did, & kild not one Nahigonsik man, except against thejr wills.

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* This was the "great Narragansett swamp fight," in South Kingston, of 19th December previous. — Eds.

He saith that when it was duskish, word was brought to the Sachims that the English were retreated. Vpon this they sent to the Fort to see what thejr loss was, where they found 97 slaine & 48 wounded, beside what slaughter was made in the howses & by the burning of the howses, all of which he sajth were burnt except 5 or 6 or thereabouts. He sajth the Indians neuer came at the Fort more, that he knows of. He sajth they found 5 or 6 English bodjes, & from one of them a bag of about a 1*lb* ½ of powder was brought to the Sachims: and he sajth that abundance of corne, & provisions, & goods were burnt allso. He sajth some powder belonging to the young Sachim, which was in a box, was blown vp, but how much he can not tell.

He sajth the Nahigonsiks powder is (generally) gone & spent, but Phillip hath sent them word that he will furnish them enough from the French. He sajth they haue caried N. Engl: money to the French for ammunition, but the money he will not take, but beauer or wampam. He sajth that the French haue sent Phillip a present, viz. a brass gun & bandaljers sutable. He sajd allso that the Nahigonsiks haue sent 2 baskets of wampam to the Mowhauks (Mauquawogs) where the French are, for their favour & assistance.

He saith that the Sachims & people were about 10 mile norwest from Mr. Smiths, whether the Cowwesets & Pumhom & his men brought to the Sachims all the powder they could, but Caunonicus sajd jt was nothing, for they had 400 guns (beside bows) and there was but enough for euery gun a charge. The young Sachim sajd that had he known they were no better furnished, he would haue bene elswhere this winter.

He sajth that while they were in consultatjon, an Indjan Squaw came in with a letter from the Generall. Some advised to send to Phillip for one of his councellours to read it, but at last they agreed to send a councellour to the Gen: who brought word that the Gen: said that there had bene

a small fight betweene them, & asked him how many Indjans were slain, & how the Sachims liked jt. That he desired the Sachims would show themselus men, & come & parley with him: that if they feared they might bring what guard they pleased, who might keepe at a distance from ours, who should not offer them any affront, while the Sachims were at the howse with the Gen: from whom they should depart in peace, if they came to no agreement.

Their Councellours sajd that the English did this only in policie to intrap the Sachims, as they had done Phillip many times, who when he was in thejr hand made him yield to what they pleased.

Nananawtenu (the young Sachim) sajd he would not goe, but thought it best to vse policy, & to send word to the Gen: that they would come to him 3 dayes after; but Cawnounicus sajd that he was old, & would not lie to the English now, & sajd if you will fight, fight; for tis a folly for me to fight any longer. The young prince said he might goe to Mr. Smiths then, but there should neuer an Indian goe with him. Thejr chief Captaine allso sajd that he would not yield to the English so long as an Indjan would stand with him. He sajd he had fought with English, & French, & Dutch, & Mowhauks, & feared none of them, & sajd that if they yielded to the English they should be dead men or slaues, & so worck for the English. He sajth that this Quaquackis bears chiefe sway, & is a midling thickset man, of a very stout, fierce countenance.

Being asked whether he was present at this consultatjon, he saith no; but that Quaquackis acquainted the people what the sum of the consultatjon was.

He sajth that Phillip is about Quawpaug, amongst a great many rocks, by a swampeside: that the Nahigonsiks haue bene these 3 days on thejr march & flight to Phillip: that he knows not what number Phillip hath with him, & that this day the last & the rear of the company departed: that they heard the Gen: was pursuing after them, & there-

fore seueral parties, to the number of 400, were ordred to lie in ambuscadoes: that seueral parties were left behind, to get & driue cattell after them: that the young prince & chiefe capt: were in a howse 4 mile from Providence, where Capt: Fenner (with 15 or 16 of Providence, seeking after cattell) tooke this Joshua Tift, who sajth that the rest of the partie (about 41) were not far of, & toward Pawtuxet.

[Bei]ng asked what was the English child which was brought in to the Gen: he sajd that Pumhom's men had taken jt at Warwick. Also he sajd that there is an English youth amongst them (his name he forgot:) one that speaks good Indjan, & was wounded & taken in the fight, whom they spake of killing with torture, but he was yet with Quawnepund.

Sir, you may suppose it to be now past midnight, & I am to write forth the copie of this, to goe to-morrow to the Gen: & therefore I dare not add my foolish comment, but humbly beg to the Father of Mercies for his mercy sake to guide you by his Councell (Psal. 73.) & afterward receaue you vnto Glory.

Your most vnworthy R. W.

My humble respects presented to such honoured frjends to whom your wisedome may thinck fit to communicate, &c.

Sir, Josh: Tift added that this company intend to stay with Phillip till the snow melt, & then to divide into companjes.

Allso that many of Ninicrafts men fough[t] the English in the Fort, & 4 of the Monhiggins are now marcht away with the Nahigonsiks.

Sir, since I am oft occasioned to write vpon the publike busines, I shall be thanckfull for a litle paper vpon the publike account, being now neere destitute.

Sir, I pray present my humble respects to the Governour Winthrop, & my thancks for his loving letters, to which I cannot now make any returne.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM CODDINGTON.*

WILLIAM CODDINGTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull and his much respected frind John Winthrape Esqr. at his howse in Boston, dd.

WORTHY & BELOUED, — I haue recaiued your letter sent by my Cozen Burt, in answer wher vnto I would not haue yow troubled how to write vnto me, seeing at this distance we knowe not how other wayes to confer to geather. Many loueing letters haue passed betweene vs, at a fare greater distance of place then nowe we bee at. Possibely yow may conceiue of things deeper, or other wayes, then ther is cause for. I doe intend to answer for my selfe (by neighbors) I doe not knowe howe yow doe meane, vnlesse it be the brethren that did remoue with me. It may be they are better able to answer for themselues then I am. I was sick when the measinger yow mention came to the Iland, who said they had onely one Question to put to me, which wos whither I did hould my selfe to stand a member of the Church of Boston or not. I answered, to

* William Coddington, of Boston, Co. Lincoln, England, was chosen an Assistant of the Massachusetts Company before the sailing of Winthrop's fleet, with which he came to Massachusetts. The next year he returned to England with Wilson and Sir Richard Saltonstall, where he remained two years. Coming here again in 1633, he became a resident of our Boston; was one of the principal merchants of the place; and built here, it is said, the first brick house. He also had a large estate at Braintree, now Quincy. He was Treasurer of the Colony three years. Siding with the Antinomian party, he left here in April, 1638, and became one of the principal residents of Rhode Island; of which colony he was for some years chief-magistrate. In his later years, he embraced the religious views of the Quakers. In 1674 was published a tract written by him, entitled "A Demonstration of Love unto you the Rulers of the Colony of the Massachusetts," &c. — See Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Young's Chron. of Mass. He died 1st November, 1678, aged seventy-seven. — EDS.

my best rememberance, to this effecte, that the Question was very considerable, & needed my best health to answer to it, but for these grounds I did scruple it, viz: after serous debate at 2 solomon meeting, in which very few of the members wos wanting (to my best rememberance, & so others afferme allso) which meeting was first accationed by the motion of one of the members nowe resident with you, and as I toucke it in the name of others; my selfe and Mr. John Coggshall, being to geather at my howse, with some other brethren, that wee two, & some others he mentioned, would remoue, for their peace, & settelement, &c.* I did inquire how that might be without offence, he said he would procuer vs a church meeting, in which it should be transacted. At the later, our teacher being out of the towne when the former wos, it wos with the generall advice & consent of all (as I take it) we were commended to the grace of God in Christ Jesus in our remouall, & it wos the substance of Mr. Cotton's sermonds the next Lord's Day, wher ther wos not Churches to commend their brethren two, ther they might commend them two the grace of God in Christ Jesus;† which I have related to some Elders & brethren of other Churchs amongest your selus, as else wher, some by word, others by writing, & though they differ as I haue to show, "1 Elder sayth it wos a dumbe dismishon. 2: Elder sayth it wos because most of them wos departed in their spirits then from the sents here. The

All 3 agree its a dismishon.

* The writer evidently is here recurring to events which took place prior to his removal from Boston. — Eds.

† Among the Hutchinson Papers, published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, is a curious letter from John Cotton, in behalf of the Church at Boston, to Francis Hutchinson, "at Acquethnick," in answer to the request of the latter "to be recommended to the word of God's grace;" in which the Church decline consenting to his desire, "as wanting warrant from Scripture light." We find in the records of the First Church the appointment of William Hibbins, Capt. Edward Gibbon, and Mr. John Oliver, as delegates to inquire into the state of affairs at the Island, under date of the 16th of the 12th month, 1639. Capt. Robert Keayne, in his manuscript volume of notes of sermons by Cotton, &c. gives an account of the result of their mission, and of the perils encountered by the messengers on their journey, as related by them to the Church, 1 mo: 16, 1640. See 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., x. 184; Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 328, 329. — Eds.

3d Elder sayeth directly that it wos a dismishon, & that your church had not further to doe," &c. And trewely I would seriously moue this question, that if the Church Covenant did reche me, being remoued, vpon what grounds they did first advise & motion my departuer, which must of nessetye cutt of that relation.

For that place aleged by yow, Mathew 18, it doth remayne yet to be proued by scriptuer that any Church did ever clame power over their brethren, remoued by their consent, more then over those that wos never in fellowshipe with them. It wos tendered by Mr. Hibings, & accepted by me, that some thing should be donn in this kind, but I haue hard no thing of it as yet, I would therfore wish my brethren knewe it, & that I wos not thus charged.

2ly, I may to your selfe answer my dismishon out of the Commonwealth, & when I wos departed the feare that the cuntrie expressed, which stands vpon recourde in your Court booke, that my selfe & others of vs wos gone out of the way, (when wee went to seeke out a place for our abod, & though I haue it to shew vnder your selfe & the Governors hand that nowe is,* that I had a yeares libertye for my remoueall) to escape onely the censer of the Courte for the present, & therfore it was inacted that vnlesse we were departed by such a tyme, we were to appeare at the Courte.† For my owne part, I was not willing to liue in the fyer of contention with your selfe (& others whome I honered in the Lord), haueing liued 7 yeares in place of Goverment with yow; but chose raythor to liue in exsile & to put my selfe vpon a sudayne remouall, vpon 14 dayes tyme, to a place with out howseing, chuseing rather to fall in to the hand of God; which what my selfe & wife & famelye did induer in that remoueall, I wish nether you nor yours may ever bee put vnto. If after all this vnder taken of my part for peace, we must clash, & make it

* Dudley. — Eds. † See Mass. Colonial Records, i. 223. — Eds.

appeare in the Christan world, we that are as a citty set of hill: (the will of our God be donn) I could wish for the good of both plantations that it wos other wayes, & muteall loue & helpefullnes continued.

For the letters you mention, they haueing said before that they had onely one thing to propound to me, & not profering me any leters, I might not possibely attend, being sick, to what passed aboute them, as indeed I do not remember now, would they that wos aboute me haue bene willing, yf they had profered me them, that I should then haue read them, feareing it would doe me hurte. Sence my recovery I haue desired a copy of them, & haue bene promised one. The other thing you mention, conserning our vncurteous entertayment of your Church's measingers, I have enquired into it, & cannot vnderstand but that they were recaiued with respect & curteousely entertayned at both plantations.

For the Indeans I could wish all lenety towards them, which vnderstand not possibely the natuer of a promise, they saye it was that if any iniueryed the English, they would not protecte them, but deliuer them vp to make satisefaction ether in their persons or estates. Ther is a lude ffelowe, one Tho. Saverye, whom I heare is now in durance with yow, who haueing stolne a paire of showes from my howse, of the Lords day, & heareing it was discovered, fled from the Iland to the 7 myles riuer, & ther being afflicted in consence, (as he pretended) for what he had donn, came to acknowledge the evill of it, & giue satesefaction. I susspected though he seemed to crye, he did but dissemble, therfore searched him, & found of him a silver s[*torn*] marked 1639, which he said he had had 6 yeare, which wos [a]boue 4 yeare before it wos mayd, allso a bugle purce & a gould ringe, (which he said he found, as theefes vse to fynd their goods) but wanting a prison he mayd an escape from vs before punishmentt, aboute 5 weekes sence. Lately I wos informed that at a place caled Puncataset, vpon the mayne land, wher he keept the last sumer, &

wos much freequent in folowing, &c. he hath had a child by an Indean womon, which is a boy, & is not black-haired lick the Indean children, but yelow haired as the English, & the womon being laitely deliuered, doth say English man got it, & some of them name him, & when he ranne away from vs, he would at Titecute haue lyne with Knowe Gods mother, which doth speake of it in detestation, & that those that professe them selus to be Christians should be more barberous & wyld then Indeans, to the reproch of our nation & the dishoner of God. Seing God hath deliuered him into your hands, I thought meet to informe yow, that yow might se justice donn of him. Thus with my due respect to the Governor, your selfe, the Debty Governor, Mr. Endecote, Mr. Humfreyes, Mr. Nowell, & Mr. Bradstreete, &c, I sease from writeing, but not from remayneing Your loueing frind till death

Wm. Coddington.

Newport this 22th of May 1640.

Ther is a lude person, one Hugh Durdall, that Mr. Pamer brought in to the cuntrie, being bound over to answer some misedemenour at the next Courte, hath mayd escape awaye about 2 dayes sence, & is feared will git passage in the West Indean shipe. He is much indebted here also. *Vale in Dom: Jesu.*

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop., "Mr. Coddington, Resp. (4) 11, — 40."

WILLIAM CODDINGTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull & his much respected frind John Winthrope Esqr. at his howse in Boston, dd.

Per Mr. Jer. Gould.

Newport Aug. 25, 1640.

Worshipfull & Beloued, — Your leter of the 11th of the 4 mo. I recaiued. The substance of your whole leter to me falles into these 2 heads.

First will conserne your Church Covenant: this I aleged in my former leter as that which wos the princepale force with me, which yow did not answer vnto, viz. That it doth remayne to be proved by the rules of the gosple, that any church ever clamed power over their brethren remoued, more then over those that was never in fellowshipe with them. Mr. Hibings promised, & I accepted, that your church covenant should be sent, with grounds to prove this poynte. The other that yow answer tow, of the advice I had taken with Elders & brethren in the poynt, & of the consent of the maior part of the Church, was but subordenate to this.

2 head of your leter doth trench vpon the passages, concerning Mr. Weelewrights banishment. What I did ther in wos in discharge of my conscence in my place. And trewley, Sir, to my deserneing, whither yow did well or I, depends of the trewth of the cause, the way of souluation, & evidenceing therof, which Mr. Cotton & he affermed, & the rest of the Elders opposed, which remaynes yet controvered, for ought I knowe. I well approue of a speech of one of note amongest yow, that we were in a heate & chafed, & were all of vs to blame; in our strife, we had forgoten wee were brethren. Not further at this present.

I wos advised by leter first out of the Baye that the Governor, & the Deputy, & other of the magistrates had adviced & incouraged the towne of Brantree to commence a sute aginest me, after I recaiued a note from the Governor that it wos for a promise. I knowe no thing of it, in regard wher of I desire that the Plantiues may put in their Complant in Answer, & that I may haue tyme giuen to put in my defence, seing, for these reasons I haue aleged to the Governor, & others, I cannot be free to come & plead my cause, & seing it is according to what is practized in our natiue land, & the courts of justice ther established. I could wish that we, that haue liued 7 yeares in place of

magistracey to geather, might not multeplye greveances one aginest an other; but I shall not ade further ther in. I haue sent over the berer, Mr. Jer. Gould, who is desirous to confere with your worship about it. The Naragansets & Nantequits keepe constant wach sence Conectecute men touck 3 Nantequits. Ther be 12 notorious murder[er]s yet liueinge, 4 at Nantequite, & 8 of them at Mohegen, according to my best intelegence, whose names I haue. The Nanteqets would deliuer vp their 4, but they would haue Ocas first deliuer vp his 8, that they may see its justice the English seekes. With my loue & my wifes, presented to your selfe & yours, I rest yours

Wm. Coddington.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Coddington about the Church, R — (6) 25, — 40."

WILLIAM CODDINGTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Honnored Sir, — I doe thankefully acknowledge your loue vnto mee in your kind profer to my agent, Mr. Jer. Clarke, to return to me my runn away servant, Tho. Jonnes, in case hee could haue bene found. I shall be ready to bee commaunded by yow in the licke or wherin I may heare. Now deare Sir, for soe you haue bene to mee, as Sollomon sayth, ther is a frind that [*erased*] nearer then a brother! Oh, that the nearnes of that relation had never bene vyolated. But wee are men, & so wee shew ourselues. Some tymes deifying of men & ordenances, other whyle vylefying of them. The Lord hath let mee see the vanetye of my owne spirit, and need of attending of him in all his ordenances, but I cannot inlardge, the meassinger staying. My desire is, that that anchent loue which much watters cannot quench, may bee renewed, & in token wherof, that yow would recaiue, at my hands,

a smale rememberance therof, in a vessell of beefe, for your winter provishon, which is not yet redy, but aginest that tyme by some pinice that commeth this way, shall be sent vnto yow. Though the thing bee not worth the mentioning betweene vs, yet because I remember your loueing excusseing of your non-acceptance (of my profer in this kind att my departuer) so as it did not, nore doth not take any imprestion of vnkindnes with mee, & I hope that which wos then a ground to yow is remoued, yet I desire yow fully to satisefye mee heare in, if it (or rather I) may thus fare fynd acceptance with yow. Not other at present, with the rememberance of my loue & my wifes to your selfe & yours, with all that remember vs, I rest

Your assuered lo: freind WM. CODDINGTON.

NEWPORT, mo. 4. 12, 1643.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his much honnored frind John Winthrope Jur Esqr at his plantation at Kaninicute, dd.

Per Tho. Stanton.

WORTHY SIR, — My best respectes from my selfe, as allsoe my wifes, salute yow & yours. Sir, I recaiued yours of the 17 of the present, to which I answer I intend to sell tenn ewes, most of them are as we calle them quine ewes, bringes two at a tyme, & few of them ould. Two ewes here in exchange ordenariely is giuen for a cowe, & the trewth is one ewe is as much profitt to me as a cowe. Nowe, Sir, my price to yow is, and vnder which I will not sell them, for I cann haue more for them, 20*li* in siluer, English monye, I desire, paid in the Baye the 20 or the 21 of June next, for then I haue accation to make vse of it, and then I shall with in a weeke or tenn dayes after the recaite, deliuer tenn to Mr. Smyth of Newhaven, or whome

yow appoynte, who is to bringe me two Cottsewell rambes, & is to haue black ewes for them (in lifetenant Gardners shalupe) if yow take order with him accordingly, who is about that tyme to be heare, of the Island, in hope to procuer some sheepe for New haven. Now, Sir, my desire is in the first place to pleasuer yow, & because I would not be disappoynted to answer my accations in the Baye, I desire your speedie answer with in 14 dayes or three weeks, the souner the better, for I dennye Secounke men till I heare from yow, & allsoe Newhaven & others. Ther will be no sheepe let of the Island, & those that are let are to the fowerths, for they do ordaneriely duble in a yeare, & more, for the lambes haue lambes when they are a yeare ould; for here is noe woolues of the Iland but one or 2, that wos when yow were here. Thus expecting your speedie answer, in hast, hast, I seasse from writeing, but not from remayneing Yours ever

Wm. Coddington.

Newport, Rod Island, Aprill 20, 1647.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Sir, — I write vnto yow by Mr. Padye of Plimouth, who did promise me to convaye it to you in his passage to the Duch aboute a mounth sence, wherin I gave you notice that I had recaiued yours of the 25 of August, & with it 6*li* English, accounted at 6*li* 12*s*. & yow say 3*li*. 8*s*. Spanish, but William Lord left with Mr. Balstone but 3*li*, 5*s*. 6*d*. as a note vnder Mr. Balstone hand will testifye. I desired yow to send for the sheepe as speedelie as yow cann, & by those that yow did send for them, to send me my note, which vpon the sight of it I will make good the contents of it, yow sending me 3 bills of exchange for 20*li* starlin, payable to me or my assignes within 8 dayes after sight (on

Mr. Petters) & with them a letter of advise vnsealled, all of your owne hand writeing, & take effectuall order with Mr. Petters for the payment: the dammage will fall of yow in case it be not payd, & the disappoyntment will be very greate to me. Thus fare by Mr. Padye, sence which I recaiued yours to the commishoners, which accordingly wos convayed by Mr. Balston to Tanton, sence that Richard Rayment hath informed me that yow had of him 7 lbs of woole, which is 10*s*. 6*d*. which he hath payd himselfe for on accompt with me. I desire yow to take order for the payment. I shall sudenly leaue the Iland, & I much desire yow will send for your sheepe. Mr. Throgmorton hath sould his pinice, & ther is noe dependance of him. I am for England by the next, (if the Lord will) and shall be glad & redie to serve yow ther, & soe in hast, with my loueing salutations to your selfe & wife, & all yours, I seace from writeing, but will ever rest

Yours Wm. Coddington.

Newport, this 31 of September 1648.

Post Scriptum, October 5, 1648. Sir, I purposse yet to continue about 20 dayes of the Iland, & would willingly deliuer your sheepe before I depart. I desire yow take speedie & effectuall order according to the contents aboue said. W. C.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON vs. WILLIAM DYRE.*

This is my Case against Dyre.

Before I went for England Dyre and I had severall actions one against the other, & were to bee tryed the next Court, & I being chosen President, Dyre would not

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* This paper, although signed by Coddington, is written by another hand, and was probably drawn up by his attorney. — Eds.

appeare, thereupon all his actions were non suited, & judgement entered thereupon: after this I went for England, & then the next yeare after, when there was a new President chosen, then Dyre desires the Court to haue proceedings against mee: there being no action now depending, the Court grants him a writt of enquiry, upon a non suit, where by law no such writt lieth; this was sent to the cheife officer of Newport, which was Mr. Easton. Now if it had beene a writt legally granted, then the cheife officer of the towne should haue sent out a *distringas*, & distraine the Defendants cattle to make him appeare, as the law was then, wherein he ought to haue walked: but contrarywise he proceeds to enquire of damages against mee, directly, besides the rules of justice; so as it was illegally obtained; so it was as illegally proceeded in, & thereupon ten head of my great cattle was taken from mee, *vi et armis*, that is, against the law. For these wrongs therefore before specified, I brought my action & declared against him, that hee came upon my ground at Rocky farme, & tooke away ten head of great cattle of mine, & converts them to his owne use: to this, if he would haue made his proceedings good by law, he should haue pleaded justificacion, & haue given the speciall matter in evidence, but hee well knowing hee could not justifie his proceedings, pleads the generall issue, that is, that hee is not guilty to all: now if I proue him guilty of any one point of the issue, the vurdict is for mee. Now obserue, there is three points of the issue. The first is, that he came upon my ground; the second is, that he tooke away my cattle; the third is, that hee converted them to his owne use. The first point I proved. The 2d. point there was some doubt, whether he did driue the cattle or no: the witnes could not say, that he did driue them, but hee went with them, and the cattle before him: this is proved. The third point of the issue was cleerely proved that is, that hee converted them to his owne use: for some

of them hee sold to John Rome, & some to Cowdall to pay for the building of his great house. Now some of the Councell said, because I did not proue that hee did driue the cattle, hee was but an accessary & not a principell. Now this being some doubt with the jury, whether hee were a principell or an accessary, they deliver in a privy or speciall vurdict, & matter of law ariseing out of matter of fact, it rests with the Judge to determine. Now the Judge determines the vurdict for the plaintife: & shews the case thus, that in all offences of the highest nature, & of the lowest nature, there is no accessaries but all principles: in offences of the highest nature, as treason, it is *Crimen Læsæ Majestatis:* in the lowest nature, as trespasses, routs & riots, & the like, it is *Vi et armis:* that this is law, you may see the case in the Mirrour of Justices: likewise, if a man command another to doe a trespasse, & hee doth it; he that commands the trespasse to bee donne, is guilty of the trespasse: see Doctor & Student for this: therefore you may see in the eye of the law Dyre is a principle in driueing away my cattle from my ground: but whether hee did driue them or not driue them, it matters not, for that is not the principell point of the issue: but that hee did convert them to his owne use: & that is notoriously knowne; & if I had taken them by force from him, as hee tooke them by force from mee, I might well haue donne it, & hee had had no cause to complaine. But there they object, & say that I made my Atturney my Judge, & that hath an ill savour with it of partiality: to which I answer; that I did so, that is true; but I was necessitated so to doe; for none of my councell would sitt in my cause, but did wholly refuse mee in it. I thinke the like practise hath not beene heard, that not all of them together, nor any one of them apart, would sit to determine the cause: so that either I must sit judge in mine owne cause, or else it must fall to ground. Doe not they shew more mallice & partiality against mee, in denying mee this

justice, then I did in making my atturney the judge? & did what lay in them to frustrate mee of my right. But consider a little, what great matter there is in it, if it bee put into the right scale of an impartiall judgement; weighing all things together as they were. In the first place, consider, that hee was not a judge, as an atturney. While he was in the office of an attourney, its like hee would speake what hee could in the cause for his fee: but being taken from that place, & made a judge, where there is no fee due for the execution of his office: why should it bee thought, that hee should not bee as upright & impartiall in the cause, as any other man? I know no reason that can bee shewed. But it may be some will object & say, yes, he may be more partiall then another, in regared hee pleaded the cause: therfore for his credit sake, he might determine the vurdict for mee: to which I answer, if he haue donne so, then his partiality will appeare in the thing. Now let all indifferent minds read the vurdict before specified, & then let the wise judge, what partiality is in it, that is so much complained of, & made such an odium to all. I wish that he that thinkes himselfe the most righteous judge amongst you, doe not shew more partiality in other mens causes, then hee hath donne in this. This is as it was drawne vp for the satisefaction of some, & soe I send it to yow. WILLM. CODDINGTON.

I had a vurdict of 100*li*, but his estaite wos so convaied & consealed, his cattell sent into the Baye, that I could not find 50*li* worth.

LETTERS OF EDWARD HOPKINS.*

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his much respected freind Jno. Winthropp the younger, Esqr, att Boston or elsewhere in the Massechusetts Bay in New England, or in his absence to the Worshipfull Jno. Winthropp the elder att Boston aforesaid.

Per the shipp Batchler whom God preserve.

London the 16° of August, 1635.

Mr. Jno. Wintropp.

Sir, — My best respects premised &c., you may please to vnderstand I haue now cleared of from hence the North Sea Boatt,† in whom (God sending her to you in safety,) you shall receave these particulars following

	Cwt. qr. lb.
14 piggs of Lead, weighing	40 0 22
80 barrs of Spanish Iron, weight	20 2 19
52 barrs English Iron, weight	20 2 19
20 hoggshedds of Meale, No.	11 to 30
14 barrells of Pease, No.	1, 2, 4, 5 to 15.
A Barrell of Oatemeale, No. 16.	

* Edward Hopkins arrived at Boston, in company with Gov. Eaton and John Davenport, in June, 1637. He went to Hartford soon after; was chosen Assistant in 1639, and Governor next year, and thereafter in alternate years with John Haynes, till he returned to England in 1652; and, while there, — probably through hope of his coming back, — he appears to have been chosen again in 1654. Arriving in England, "he was soon made a member of Oliver's Parliament, and a Commissioner of the Navy; made his will 17th March, 1657; and died soon, in his fifty-eighth year." — *Savage's Geneal. Dict.*; and *Winthrop's Hist. of N. England*, i. 228, 229. — Eds.

† Winthrop, i. 173, in noticing the arrival of this vessel at Boston, under date of 28th October, calls it "a small *Norsey* bark, of twenty-five tons." He probably intended "Norsey" (or as the original manuscript, to our eyes, reads, "Norsye") for an abbreviation of "North Sea;" but, by his awkward way of expressing it, has hitherto puzzled his annotators. — Eds.

A Barrell of Butter, No. B. and 6 firkins of Butter, No. 1 to 6.
4 hoggsheds and 5 barrells of Iron ware, the particulars I send you hereinclosed.
A Bundle of Sythes, cont. 3 dozen.
2 Bundles of Shovells and Spades.
A packe of Linnen Cloth, No. A. cont. 320 ells of Roane Canvas for sheetts, being 13 pieces, and one piece of narrower cloth cont. 87 ells.
8 flocke Beds, 25 Ruggs and 40 Blanketts.
6 Grindstones.
3 Barrells of Pitch & 2 Barrells of Tarr.
4 Sownes and one barrell of Iron things that came from Holland, the particulars I haue nott yett receaved, it is marked R. S.
2 small Cables for shallops, weighing 3 cwt. 1 qr. 6 lb. & 2 cwt. 0. 11 lb of lesser cordage.

Iron worke for 2 draw Bridges, as follows.

62 Staples.
40 Staple hooks for a portcullis.
4 Chaines.
10 Boults.
4 Plates.
8 Chaine Claspes.
4 vnder Hinges.
23½ yards of redd flagg stuffe for Serieant Gardeners vse, & some small lines that came from Holland, & a wheelebarrow.

I intended to haue laden much more in this vessell, and had putt aboard other things, but was forced to take them out againe, by reason she was too much pestered,* butt what is wanting now you shall have per the True Loue, Mr. Gibbs, who willbe ready I hope to sett saile within 14 or 20 dayes, in whom such servants as are provided by the gentlemen are to be shipped, butt what their nomber willbe I yett know nott.

I herewith also send you the particulars of the furniture of this barque, the Bachler, that you may know what to require from the master. There are some small things, as dishes and such like, belonging to her, nott here mentioned,

* Encumbered. — Eds.

butt the things omitted are of noe great value. I haue hired the master and all the men (whose names and wages I shall afterwards expresse,) eyther to remayne in the cuntrey to saile the barque there, or to be returned home in some other shipp, as you shall find most convenient. I cannott say much for master nor men, to incourage you to keepe them the[re] yf you can provide your selfe of others that are fitting for the imployment. It was nott easy here to gett any att this tyme, to goe in soe small a vessell, and therefore I was forced to take some, that otherwise I would nott haue medled withall. The master is able enough, but savours nott godlinesse, yett hath a desire, as he tells me, to continue in the cuntrey. Yf you keepe them there, I have vndertaken they shall haue their wages paid them att 6 monthes end from their clearing att Gravesend, butt for my owne part I rather incline to haue them sent home; and yf you determine this, the sooner you doe itt the better, for they willbe in pay vntill their arivall here. Yf the shipps that goe from thence want any men, you may happily gett some allowance for them, wherby the charge may be somewhat abated. Butt it is left to your discretion to doe herein as you shall iudge most advantageous to the Company. Serieant Gardener and Wm. Job his workemaster, with the Serieants wiefe and his mayd, come over in this barque. Yf you require it of them both Gardener & Job can shew you their covenants with the Company, whereby you may in part perceave what to require of them, and what to performe to them: they are all to be att the Companies charge for matter of diett. The Serieant hath receaved of me beforehand, towards his first yeares wages, 30*l* sterlinge, & Wm. Job hath receaved 15*l*, the master also of the barque hath receaved 8*l* beforehand, towards his wages, all which you are to deduct, when you pay them any more.

The wages to be paid the Master and his company are as follows.

	£	s.	d.	
To Jno. Webber, Mr. of the Barque . . .	4,	10	0	per month.
To Ric. Baker, Master's Mate	2,	00	0	per moneth.
To Jno. Brikin, Carpenter	1,	11	0	per moneth.
To Jno. Sherlocke	1,	6	0	per mo.
To Jno. Harman	1,	5	0	per mo.
To Jno. Hall	1,	2	0	per mo.
To Robt. Sherley	1,	0	0	per mo.
To the boy	0,	12	0	per mo.

The charge att present for soe small a vessell is very great, but I hope (God sending her thither in safety) shee may be sayled with fewer men, whereby the charge willbe lessned. I haue given to the master of the Barque 5*l* starling to pay the men their halfe pay att Gravesend, which willbe onely for one weeke, and to disburse otherwaies as the occations of the shipp shall require, he is to giue you an account of the disbursing of the same, and what shall nott be layd out, to deliver to you. Soe nott having elce att present, I take my leave, resting

Yours in what I may EDWARD HOPKINS.

Att my comming to Gravesend to cleare of the shipp there, 4 of the mariners, vizt. Brikin, Sherlocke, Harman, & Hall, came to me and tould me they would nott goe the voyage, vnlesse they might be free vppon arivall of the shipp there, to dispose of themselves to any other imployment, and hau[e] their wages paid them att the discharge of the shipp. Whereuppon, being putt to some streights, I was in a manner constrayned to yeeld to their desires, and vppon second thoughts I conceave to noe disadvantage to us, as you may perceave per the inclosed agreement, the originall whereof, vnder their hands, I haue given the master, that if they putt into the West Cuntrey, and offer to leave the shipp, he may haue something to shew to constraine them to the contrary, for now you are left free from taking any care to send these backe to England, and they are bound nottwithstanding, yf you offer them as much wages as

others doe, to serve you yf you stand in nead of them, which yett I hope you will nott; the master, his mate, one mariner & the boy sticking to the former agreement, who with small helpe more willbe able, I conceave, to saile the barque in the cuntrey. You may perceave per the agreement, that I haue paid 30*s* to these men in part of their wages before hand.

Yours as before EDW. HOPKINS.

18º AUGUST, 1635.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his worthy freind Mr. Jno. Winthropp the younger Esqr.

LONDON the 21th of September 1635.

MR. JNO. WINTHROP.

SIR, — My best respects premised &c. I herewith send you both a copy of my letter sent per the Bachler, wherby you may perceave what was laden aboard her, as also a particular of whatt I haue laden aboard this shipp, the True Loue, together with a bill of lading for the same, soe that I shall nott nead to adde much more for advise att present, onely you may please to know that the hoggshedds of meale now sent, from No. 11 to 30, are somewhat better then eyther those 20 in the Bachler, or the other 10 aboard this shipp; also of the 2 rundletts of oile, No. A is the best; of the barrells of powder, No. 41 and 42 are fine powder for musketts and fowling, the rest is for the ordinance. All the irons for the cariages are nott all yett fully fitted, but whatt is now wanting shall come per the first att spring, which I conceave willbe as soone as any vse will be made of them: there is besides the bedds that are packt vpp, a dozen bedds and a dozen of coverletts, putt aboard for the vse of the servants in the shipp. Mr. Gibbs hath also a new cable or hawser weighing 4 c. 3 q. 5 lb., which, after it

hath beene vsed in taking the ordinance out of the shipp, he is to deliver to you. There is also 2 drumms and 4 or 5 trunks with the servants apparell in them, which are nott included in the bills of lading. Butt Edward Bushell cann tell you what they are, as also the particulars contayned in them.

I likewise herewith send you a list of the servants' names that are now shipt. Edward Bushell hath all their covenants. They are bound, some to Mr. Ny, some to my selfe, & some to Edward Bushell, butt wee assigne them all over to you. I will write noe more concerning them, butt will referr my selfe to their advise, who vndertooke the providing of them. I had as great care as I could in the provisions now sent. I hope they willbe answerable to expectacion. The irons for cariages No. 36, 37, & the 2 hoggsheds of woodden ware No. 50, 51, are packt vp in malt. I send noe cheese, because you seemed to haue noe desire to itt. Soe nott having elce att present, I take my leave resting

Yours to commaund EDW. HOPKINS.

Edward Bushell was imployed by Mr. Ny in buying some things for the servants, & att making vp of account with him, I find we are indebted to him 3*l*, which he desires to haue in the cuntrey.

More he saith he hath laid out, in these occations, of which he can give noe account at present, about 4*l*, besides some tooles he bought, the prise whereof he remembers nott; butt he is honest, and will doe noe wronge.

Indorsed by J. Winthrop, Jr.

Plaster of tarras.
Plaster of Pareis.
3 bills of exchange of 30*li* to be payde to Rich: Baker.
Drummes: silke ancients, trumpets. &c.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

London the 24th of Sept. 1635.

Sir, — I wrott you per this conveyance of the 21th present, and sent you the particulars of what I laded aboard this shipp. I haue nott any more to add att present, but onely to convey the inclosed, which I hope may meett or ouertake the shipp in the Downes.

I desire you willbe pleased (yf opportunity serve) to give notice per the first, of the receipt of these things, and to advise whatt supplyes you shall stand in nead of att spring; for I hope by that tyme, the gentlemen's stocke willbe increased, and they therby better inabled to affo.rd such accommodacions as shallbe necessary for the furthering of the businesse then now they were, for I know through streights of tyme and meanes, many things are now omitted, which the state of the Plantacion will soone call for. Soe nott having elce att present, with my best respects to you and yours, desiring the same may be presented to Mr. Peter, I take my leave, resting

Yours in what I may Edward Hopkins.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his much respected freind John Winthropp the younger, att Boston or elcewhere in New England, dd.

Sir, — My last was per the Peter Bonadventure, wherin I gave you notice what goodes I had laden aboard that shipp, consigned to you, to witt, 2 hoggshedds, wherein are irons for cariages, 20 hoggshedds of meale, 8 hoggshedds of oatmeale, and 8 hoggshedds of pease. Att present you may please to vnderstand, I have put aboard this shipp, the Phillip, 4 small pieces of ordinance, which

were bought by Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Fenwicke in Holland, and 4 cariages to them, as per the bills of lading inclosed you may perceave. I have also laden aboard another shipp, which may be ready in 14 dayes, 10 hoggshedds of oatmeale, which I was incouraged to buy, in regard I had it above a shilling in a bushell cheaper then the markett. But of this I shall write you more per that shipp. In the meane tyme, with my best respects to your selfe, I rest

Yours in what I may EDW. HOPKINS.

LONDON, the 22th June, 1636.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his much respected freind Jno. Winthrop the younger Esqr att Boston in New England, dd.

Per the Wm. & John.

SIR, — My best respects premised &c. My last was per the Peter Bonadventure, in which shipp I laded and consigned to you, 42 hoggshedds of severall commodityes, the particulars I then advised, to which I desire to be referred. Att present you may please to vnderstand I have laden aboard this shipp the Wm. and Jno. 10 hoggshedds of oatmeale more, (which I gave you some intimacion of then) as per the inclosed bill of lading, you may perceave. I mett with this parcell vppon reasonable tearmes, otherwise I should not have gone soe farr in disbursements for that account, being out of cash for it. I had thought when I made the former provitions, that a farr greater summe of mony would have been sent in, according to promise, otherwise I would have disposed of that which came to my hands somewhat different from what I did, and have disbursed part of it in provitions of

other kinds, but I lived in a dayly expectacion of more supply, which fayled me hitherto, and now the sicknesse * comming into the citty, hath scattered the interested into severall parts, soe that I much question whether any more willbe sent this yeare. Since the former mentioned by the Peter, I wrott you breefly per Mr. Babb, by whom I sent you 3 small pieces of ordinance, and cariages to them. I am now bringing my owne occations to a head, and intend (God willing) the first of the next spring to come away: I have not elce att present to inlarge, but will take leave & rest Yours in what I can Edw. Hopkins.

July the 14th 1636.

Indorsed by J. Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Hopkins from England, 1636."

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull his much respected freind Jno. Winthroppe Esq: att his house in Boston, dd.

Hartford the 25º of 7ª 1640.

Sir, — There was about 9 weeks since a suspitious fellow came into these parts, whom wee then examined, and tooke order for his forthcoming, when we should heare further concerning him. Since which wee haue vnderstood from Mr. Hatherley that he is a servant of his, and ran away from him. He desires he might be sent backe and directed to your selfe, which accordingly I haue now done. The mony which he hath earned since his coming into these parts, hath beene for the most part layd out by him in apparrell, which he hath with him; the rest I conceaue will scarcely suffice to pay for his passage.

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* The plague, of which above ten thousand persons died in London in 1636. — Eds.

I haue by the same pinnace also sent a small bundle of apparell and a white hatt, which belongs to two boyes of Mr. Thomas, who were returned backe to him. I pray you be pleased either to giue him some notice of it, that he may send for it, or to cause it to be sent to Mr. Bradford att Plymouth.

I shall not trouble you further att present, but with remembrance of my best respects to your selfe and our other freinds there, doe take my leaue, resting

Yours in what I may EDWA. HOPKINS.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much respected freind Jno. Winthrop Esqr. att Nameocke, dd.

SIR, — This Indyan informes mee that Wequash Cooks brother tooke from him and his aunt severall things, as an otter skyn, 2*s.* 6*d.* in wampam, powder & bulletts, and a horne, 1 greatt buckskynn and two doe skynns, two treyes, 7 bushell Indyan corne, 2 bushell of sweet corne, & 2 bushell of beanes. He affirmes the onely reason pretended was because his aunt left her dwellinge att Pacotucke, and went to Mogekin, which was her owne cuntrey. I pray you doe what you may that the things be restored. He dwelt severall yeares with the English, and I vnderstand not but that he carryed himselfe well; and he hath now ingaged himselfe to mee, to liue with mee 3 yeares, seeming to be willing to learne to read, and to be acquainted with the things of God, which I would further. I remember the barrell of tarre, and leaue order that one be sent downe by the first, being this next second day, vppon a jorney for Fairefeeld. Some other complaints are continued about Sanhopp for some rude carriage of his, and resolucion to plant att Neanticutt. I doubt yf he doe soe,

and yett remayne in his contests with Vncus, peace will not be preserued. I shall add noe more but my loving respects to your selfe & to Mrs. Winthropp, and soe take leaue, restinge

Your assured freind EDWA: HOPKINS.

HARTFORD, the 20th of March, 1646.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

S[R], — I haue receaued yours of the 2d present per this bearer, as also that of the 31th past from Thomas Staunton. In answere wherevnto (the chiefe contents of both tending to one and the same purpose) you may please to know, thatt the meeting of the Commissioners is concluded to be att Boston, for the place, and the 26th of the 5th mo., comonly called July, for the tyme, butt how safe itt may be for all the Indyans in the cuntrey to be acquainted with the direct tyme of our travelling through the cuntrey, I leaue to your wisdome to consider. I haue spoken to Thomas Staunton to accompany us thither, as an interpreter, and hope to prevayle (as was desired by your father) and could heartily wish that Benedict Arnold may also be procured, wherby all suspitions of mistake may be removed, wherto I doubt wee are very subject in our transactions with Indyans. Thomas Staunton informed mee that you haue a purpose of a jorney or voyage for the Manhattos. Mr. Whiting is bound shortly for Delaware, in order wherevnto he hopes to be att Sea Brooke the middle of the next weeke, or 10th present. If you please to meett him there he willbe very glad of your company. Mr. Whiting hopes to returne before the meeting of the Commissioners, for he is chosen for one of ours. Yf he be prevented other supply must be made. I thanke you for the water

you sent. It hath beene taken one turne already, according to your direction, and after the intermission prescribed is now to be taken againe. She receaues it willingly as is desired. As yett I perceaue nott any alteracion in her, butt wayt vppon Him who can onely giue a blessinge.* With the returne of my respects to your selfe and Mrs. Winthropp, with the like from Mrs. Elyza. Fenwicke, I take my leaue, restinge Yours assuredly in that I may

EDWA: HOPKINS.

HARTFORD the 5th May [?] 1647.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much respected freind Jno. Winthropp Esqr. att Nameocke dlr.

SIR, — I haue beene att Nameocke where I expected to haue mett you, but it seemes your occations detayne you in the Bay. I perceaue it is not without nead that some government be settled in the place, and our Court desires your assistance therein, as you will vnderstand per the inclosed. I putt of the issueing of some differences there vntill your returne, when I shall, yf nead be, and that the tyme of yeare will permitt, willingely come over againe thither, and then in presence returne you thanks for the entertainment I found att your house, where I was bould to take vp my harbour. I swore a constable there (Carey Latham) who might present (and soe I hope prevent) disorders. I shall be very glad to see you att Hartford when your occations will permitt, where you shallbe truly welcome to him who is

Your assured freind EDWA: HOPKINS.

SEA BROOKE the 11th of Novr. 1647.

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* Hopkins probably alludes here to the mental disorder of his wife (Ann Yale), who survived him for many years, and died Dec. 17, 1698, having been insane for more than half a century. See an extract from his will in a note to Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 228–230. — EDS.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his much respected freind John Winthropp Esqr. att his house att Nameocke dd.

Sir, — I thought good to acquaint you with the determinacion of the Commissioners concerning those Pequotts that reside neare your Plantacion, which I cannot better doe then by transcribing the record of the last meeting, so farre as concernes that particular.*

Whereas by order of the Commissioners the last yeare, it was provided that the Pequotts residing neare to the English Plantacion setled att Nameocke should returne to their former subiection to Vncus, which was made knowne and signifyed to them both by the Commissioners themselues att Boston, and by Mr. Hopkins afterwards att Pequott, but noe conformity hath beene hitherto yeelded therevnto by them. It was thought fitt and concluded that Mr. John Winthropp be informed of the continued resolucions of the Commissioners for their returne, and desired to further the same. But in case a ready attendance be not forthwith yeelded herevnto, Vncus shall haue order and liberty by constraint to enforce them. And it is desired that the Government of Conecticutt will provide that he be not therein opposed by any English, nor the Pequotts or any of theirs harbored or sheltred in any of their howses, whilst noe just offence is given them, by him or any of his, in their proper concernments.

I haue not yet acquainted Vncus herewith, but yf there be a refusall in them to attend & obserue the contents of the order, I must leaue him to the liberty given him.

I vnderstand that Ninigrett pretends a graunt from the Commissioners to hunt in the Pequott cuntrey, which cer-

* See Acts of the Commissioners, in Plym. Col. Records, ix. 111. — Eds.

tainly was never yeelded, but yf it were, his non performance of Covenants, and treacherous designes, make him (att least as yett) vncapable of receaving favours or incouragements from any who loue the peace of the Colonyes. I hope therefore you will not intereste your selfe in any such wayes of his, which I conceaue canott but be offensiue to all the Comissioners, who haue beene fully acquainted with his insolencyes. I shall not add further att present, but with remembrance of my due respects to your selfe and yours, take my leaue and rest

Your assured loving freind EDWA. HOPKINS.

HARTFORD the 1° of Novr. 1648.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN MASON.

CAPT: MASON, — The Commissioners for the Colonies, at their last meeting at Plimouth, expressed their continued resolutions for the returne of the Pequotts, that at present reside at Nameag, to their former subiection to Vncus, whereof I was, by their order & direction, to acquaint Mr. Winthrop, which accordingly I have done, but doe not yet vnderstand that any attendance is yet given to the Commissioners order by the said Pequotts. I must therefore in prosecution of the charge committed to me, give Vncus leave by violence & constraint to enforce them, but to prevent any inconvenience that may happen betwixt the English & him, my desire is that you will take care that [three] or foure of the planters at Seabrooke may be sent to Nameag, when Vncus is about that service, who may both direct him in his way, & be witnesses of all the proceedings. It was desired by the Commissioners, that we would provide that the English there inhabiting doe not receive any of the Indians or any of their goods, into

their houses, nor any way hinder Vncus in the prosecution of his order of the Commissioners, which I desire they may be fully acquainted with, and required duly to attend. And also that charge be given to Vncus that he noe waies disturbe the English or preiudice them in any of their concernements, and that vpon the returne of the Pequotts to him he doe not rule over them with rigor, or in a tiranicall manner, but so as they may have noe just occasion to complaine. If your occasions will permitt you to goe thither, & se these things effected, it wilbe more satisfactory.

I shall not adde further but rest,

Your assured freind EDWA. HOPKINS.

21th of Nov: 1648.

Indorsed, "Copy of Captaine Mason's Commission about the Nam: Indians."

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much respected freind Jno. Winthrop, Esqr. att his house att Nameocke, dd.

HARTFORD, the 3d. of March, 1648.

SIR, — I desire with thankfulnesse to acknowledge the respects and loue I receaved from you att my late being with you, and shall heartily rejoyce yf the God of loue and peace be pleased to lay such foundacions in your beginings there, and soe frame all hearts that he may delight to dwell among us, and not despise our day of small things. I receaved yours by this Indyan, of the 27th past. Tantonimo hath not beene with me since my returne home, but I heare he lurks about, and sends his spies to vnderstand how things are taken, that yf danger appeare he may escape it by flight. I haue not yett, by any expressions to any, abated of the manifestacion of that

reall distrust I tooke att his vile carriage in your house, and though it be true the tēstimony given in is not soe cleare but that possibly it might be accidentall, yett I know their pride and insolency is such that I shall endeavour to make him stoope, but will lett him know your respects to him, and whatt is abated shallbe as on your request, that he may ly vnder ingagements to your love, which may be of some use. I have looked vppon him as one of [the] fairest that I haue had to doe withall, but would not be partiall to any, nor suffer such things to be past over lightly. I haue acquainted our magistrats (who were together when I receaved yours) with the desire of your townsmen for the name of that place,* who doe conceave the Generall Court, to whom such things appertaine, will readily satisfy your desires therein: all that hath any appearance for an objection is onely least it should seeme to looke too high, the planters att Quillipiacke havinge forborne that name onely in that respect.

I vnderstand Mr. Tho: Lake is come to New Haven and gone to Stamford, where his freind is with her sister; but how he came from the Bay, or how long vppon the voyage, I vnderstand not. There is noe newes att all come from him, which makes mee conceaue he came out before the ship arived out of England. Before my coming to you a messinger went hence into the Bay with letters, who was presently to returne, but wee heare nothing of him as yett, which causeth some feares that he is not safe. I haue not more to trouble you with att present; hoping you will lett us inioy your company att the Court of Election the third thursday in May, and yf eyther then or any other tyme, you will please to bring Mres Winthrop and Mres Lake with you, to whom I desire to be remembred, with

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* The writer here refers to the desire of the inhabitants of "Pequit Plantation," expressed Feb. 22, 1648–9, "that the plantation may be called London." — *Caulkins's Hist. of N. London*, p. 59. — Eds.

the returne of many thanks for their loue, I shall be heartily glad to see them with you att my poore house, where you shall be truly welcome after our course manner, and I shall alwayes desire to subscribe my selfe

Yours in what I may EDWA: HOPKINS.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his Honoured freind Jno. Winthrop Esqr att his house att Nameocke dd.

HARTFORD the 20th of March 1648.

SIR, — It is not soe strange to meet with reports from Indyans of an vncouth nature, as it is difficult to find out & vnderstand the depth of their contriuements in their vnderhand workings. I am not forward to beleeve what they represent, though with some appearance of truth, vppon the experience I have had of their falsenese, yet I may not be alltogether deafe to their complaints, least by non attendance to what is presented, the publique welfare of the cuntrey be prejudiced, and I incurre a just blame. There are att this tyme in my house some Pawkeatucket Indyans (as I take it,) who pretend to come vppon a message from Wickwash Cooke, a man with whom I haue noe acquaintance att all, onely doe well remember, in your letters the last yeare to the Commissioners att Plymmouth, he was represented as one cordiall to the English, and noe wayes intrested in that present dangerous designe. His complaints are that Ninigrett is endeavoring to settle the Pequotts that lately were att Nameocke, vppon his owne proper land, and to out him of that which was his cleare vndoubted inheritance, wherein he makes use of your name, as expecting or receaving incouragement from you therein. I doe not att present vndertake the defense

of Wiggwash Cook's title to the mentioned land, but that which I cannot but suggest is that I am very confident the Commissioners neyther in honour or justice can approue of such proceedings in Ninigrett, and thereby he doth but lay the foundacion of a further breach with the English. I am willing to perswade my selfe you will noe wayes intermeddle in a businesse of this nature, and am very desirous Ninigrett may know what my apprehensions are of the same, yf you haue any opportunity to convey it to him. However, I much desire to heare from your selfe what the true state of the case is, and how farre there is a reality in the informacion now given. He further complaynes of some English that are beginning to build vppon part of his ground, without his leave or consent.

I receaved this day letters out of the Massachusetts, dated the 5th present. Your father hath beene very sicke, but vnder hopes of recovery.* A ship was come in from Plymmouth, which confirmes the newes brought by that from Dartmouth. I doe not remember that I heard before that Colonell Rainsborough was slaine treacherously, & it is added, that Major Shippon hath vndergone the same fate. The plot (it seemes) was to cutt of all the cheefe of the army in such a way.

The Earle of Warwicke hath declared for the King, Parliament, and treaty; and that he will oppose all that doe oppose the treaty; and it is doubted the revolted shipps and his will ioyne in that businesse. I shall onely add my loving respects to your selfe, Mres Winthrop and Mres Lake, and soe take leaue resting

Your assured freind EDW. HOPKINS.

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* Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts died 26th March, 1649, six days after the date of this letter; the year commencing on the 25th of March. — EDS.

EDWARD HOPKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Sir, — I receaved yours by this bearer, and haue imparted the contents, soe farre as was necessary, to our Generall Court. I conceaue our Governour, Mr. Haynes, doth now write you an answere to severall of the particulars therein mentioned. It was never our purpose to bring the Indyan that wounded Vncus to his tryall here, but to referre him to the examinacion of the Commissioners, whose meting is att Boston, the 16th of July.* Thomas Mynot spake to mee about corne. It is very scarce with vs now, and not probable that any considerable quantity may be procured to countervayle the charge of sending your boat vp the Riuer, but yf 5 or 6 bushell of ry, and about a like quantity of Indyan may doe you any pleasure, I shall endeavour to gett it ground here, and sent to Sea Brooke, by some vessells that are bound for the Bay; yf I had sacks to putt it in, & may haue intimacion from you that you desire it. I should haue beene glad to haue seene you and Mres Winthrop here, yf your occations would haue permitted it. I am in hast, and can only att this tyme present my service to you, and her, & Mres Lake, and soe rest

Your assured loveing freind Edwa: Hopkins.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Hopkins, rec. May 23 1649."

Hartford, the 19th of 3d. mo 1649.

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* The case of Cuttaquin, the Narragansett Indian accused of an attempt to murder Uncas, as related by Roger Williams in a letter printed in this volume (pp. 268, 269), was considered by the Commissioners at the July Session, 1649; and the offender sentenced to be delivered up to Uncas for punishment. See Acts of the Commissioners, in Plym. Col. Records, ix. 143–146. — Eds.

LETTERS OF THEOPHILUS EATON.*

THEOPHILUS EATON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull John Wynthrop, Esq: Governour of the plantations in the Massachusetts Bay dd.

Sir, — I can neither write nor indeede thinke of my brothers miscariages without much greife & shame.† He who searcheth the heart knew what sapp ranne within when the fairest leaves appeared outwardly, but his late, & I feare present fruite hath bin exceeding bitter, and his state the more dangerous, because I feare he is but a litle sensible of it, besides much dishonour to the great name of God. I heare he hath bin very injurious to sundrie men; the particulers I fully vnderstand not, nor as yett how farr my self am interressed in his sinfull projects. Some moneys he received for me, some goods he had of mine, some goods by my order he sent me, and some without order; how these reconings stand he never sent me any

* Theophilus Eaton arrived at Boston in June, 1637, in company with his brother Samuel, Rev. John Davenport, and Edward Hopkins; and, the next April, went with others to found the Colony of New Haven, of which he was chosen first Governor in 1639; and was continued in this office till his death, 7th January, 1657–8, at the age of sixty-seven. He was a merchant, and brought over to this country a large estate. Mr. Savage says of him (Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 228), "No character in the annals of New England is of purer fame than that of Theophilus Eaton, Governor of the Colony of New Haven, from its settlement to his death, by twenty annual elections; the only instance of such an honor ever conferred." An excellent sketch of him will be found in Hubbard's New England, 329, 330. — Eds.

† The writer here refers to the misconduct of his younger brother, Nathaniel Eaton, the first master of Harvard College, whose "base carriages" are mentioned in a letter of Gov. Endecott printed in this volume, pp. 135, 136. See also Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 308–313. — Eds.

account, though I wrote to him for it into the Bay and since to Virginea; other moneys I payd him upon his [*torn*] such security as gave me present satisfaction, supposing him faithfull, partly by a bond, partly by a deede of bargaine and sale, which I suppose to be good, though the witnesses heard them not read, when they saw him seale and deliver them as his deeds. I am not privie to any, the least indirect ayme on my part in that cariage, nor did I foresee that inconvenience which hath since followed. I formerly wrote to Mr. Bellingham, desiring a share in the estate he hath left, according to my interest, and I desire from your self all lawfull furtherance herein, beyond justice I know you cannot grant, nor doe I desire. He hath also received ffowerscore pownds for Mr. Foxcroft, by Mr. Ling's order, from goodman Lyne, as I take it of Charlestowne, and severall sommes of Mrs. Woolcott for Mr. White. I assure my self they also (with others) shall have satisfaction, so farr as the estate will goe. I pray you excuse this boldnes. Might I doe you any service in these parts I should gladly imbrace the opportunity. With my due respect to your self, Mrs. Wynthropp, & other freinds, I rest

Yours in all service of love THEOPH: EATON.

I have intreated my cozen Malbons help in my buisnes; what he doth in it I shall allow.

QUINYPIOCK, this first June, 1640.

THEOPHILUS EATON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

HONORED SIR, — I haue received yours of the 19 (4) and 3 (5) the later letter almost a month before the former came to hand, two dayes since. In both I see your labour of love, and that you are sensible of our affliction & exer-

cise concerning Newhaven shipp,* of which we yet heare no certainty, but desire to waite with due submission (though the cupp be very bitter) to our wise and good Father's providence. When Wm. Cooley presented your certificate on behalf of brother Jackson, I knew no such man as James Tilly, about this towne. By inquirie I since heare he lives with a farmor belonging to our Ruling Elder, but being very poore, he yet serves (as I take it) to satisfie for a miscariage in pointe of theft: he once ranne away, and was fetcht back by the ffarmor, his surety. If he stay, I shall further your neighbour what I may, but I doubt whether any thing wilbe gotten. It wilbe a mercy if a safe, and honorable peace may be settled betwixt the Colonyes and the French, and a great addition to it, if the Narrag: and Nyantick Indians bring in their wampum, and performe all other covenants, but I yet doubt they haue other dessignes. With your first conveniency, I desire to heare what issue Gortons complaints are brought to. It wilbe an exercise to us all, if he returne with victory. A cloud nerely seemes to threaten us from the West. We lately built a small house within our owne limits (if at least we have any interest in these parts, and that the Duch be not lords of the countrye, for they write this plantation in New Netherland). I thinke I may safely say we have not yet traded 20 skinns of beaver in it, from the first to this day, yet the Duch talke of hundreds nay thowsands of skins. The copie of the protest,† and the answer I intend (if prest to answer, as I conceive I shall before I can heare from the Massachusets), I have here inclosed to Mr. Pelham, desiring (as the case requireth) advice from your self,

* The writer here refers to Capt. Lamberton's ship, which sailed from New Haven for England in January, 1646, and was never heard of afterwards. The account of the phantom-ship, preserved in the traditions of the Colony, which is also mentioned by Winthrop and related at length by Mather, is connected with the loss of this ship. See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 254, 266, 328; Mather's Magnalia, i. 25. — Eds.

† The protest of Governor Kieft of New Netherland, and the answer by Eaton, may be seen in New-Haven Col. Records, i. 265. — Eds.

Mr. Dudley, &c. with the Commissioners. With my due respects to your self, Mr. Dudley, your Reverend Elders, and other friends, I rest

Yours in all service of love THEOPH: EATON.

NEWHAVEN, Aug: 6, 1646.

THEOPHILUS EATON AND STEPHEN GOODYEAR TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull their much Honoured friend, John Winthropp Esqur, at his house in Boston, dd.

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Since yours of the 30 (2) came to hand, we have advised with our friends at Connecticutt, and joyntly conceiving the time we mett at Boston, 2 years since, may suite your publique occasions, we purpose (if the Lord will) to be there about the 22 or 23th of the 5th moneth next, and desire (if you please) the Commissioners may meete the 26th following. And though in buisnes of such weight we may not over hasten, and hurrey, yet conceiving we shall all indeavour to husband and improve time, to the best advantage, we desire (if you thinke meete) that you would send to the Narraganset and Neyantick Sachems in the meane time, that themselves (which would be much pressed) or at least some deputed, and fully instructed, from all the severall bodyes & jurisdictions of Indians, ingaged by the treaty at Boston in August, 1645, may meete us, as soone as you please, after our first sitting, to satisfie our just demands, or that without further messuages, or needeles expence of time, we may know their resolutions. We have already spoken, and shall further indeavour, firmely to ingage Thomas Stanton, to assist at Boston, as interpretour in these Indian treaties, but his trade and sea imployments make him less certaine, if (against his will) they

may not disappointe us therein. It wilbe therefore safe and convenient (though the charge be so much increased) that Benedict Arnold be procured, to supplye, or joyne, in that service, as the case may require.

We have hitherto wanted meanes to inquire at Long Island after the ffugitives you mention, but shall improve the first opportunity. Refferring other thinges to our meeting, with our due respects, we rest,

Yours in all service of love,

THEOPH: EATON.
STEPHEN GOODYEARE.*

NEWHAVEN, 27th (3) 1647.

THEOPHILUS EATON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Sir, — Yours of the 17th present, I have received, by which I understand, William Hallet, etc. are come to your plantation at Nameag. That grevous miscariage hath certainly given great offence to many; I wish their repentance were as cleere, and satisfying. It is possible that William Hallet & she that was Mr. Feakes his wife, are maryed, though not onely the lawfulnes & validitie of such a mariage, but the reallity & truth, is by some questioned, because themselves & Toby Feakes some times denye it; but leaving that, I shall acquainte you (though possibly they have done it already) with some passages about that estate. Mr. Feakes, from Boston, October 6, 1647, wrote to Stamford, that he reserved the whole propriety of his estate, till he saw how God would deale with him in England, and desired he, and the chil-

* Stephen Goodyear, probably a London merchant, was of New Haven, 1638. He was there chosen Assistant, and Deputy-Governor in 1641; continuing in this office, by successive elections, until his departure for England in 1657. He died in London soon after his arrival. See Savage's Geneal. Dict., ii. 278. — EDS.

dren, might not be wronged &c: after which, that estate being from the Duch in danger of confiscation, they brought it to Stamford, and at their request, it was there seized, as wholy belonging to Mr. Feakes, though after they chalenged part thereof, as the proper estate of William Hallet, and she besides desired a share in what was due to Mr. Feakes. I was not willing they should be wronged in the least, and accordingly at their request, I wrote to Stamford. Wm. Hallet after this brought a letter from your honoured father, and told me he mett with some opposition at Stamford, whereupon I advised him to attend the Court of Magistrates, which the weeke then following was to sitt at Newhaven, but I perceived in him an unwillingnes thereunto, though I promised him all just furtherance. He neither came nor sent to that Court, yet with all tendernes I propounded his case, and it was ordered that what ever William Hallet could prove to be his right & due out of that mixed estate, with Mr. Feakes, should be fully & without any condition delivered, and further that if she settled at Watertowne, Pequott, or within any of the English Colonyes, two of the children, with half Mr. Feakes his propper estate, should (if desired) be put into the power & trust of such English Goverment, to be secured & improved for her & the children's good, with such respect to Mr. Feakes, as may be meete; and that the other half of the estate, should be improved at Stamford, for the use of Mr. Feakes, & maintenance of the other two children. I hoped this might have satisfied, but the next newes was, that Wm. Hallet, etc, in a secret underhand way, had taken the children, two cowes, all the houshold goods, with what else I know not, & by water were gone away, those intrusted at Stamford not knowing whither, the things they caryed not being inventoryed, nor valewed, as I conceive, and whether all brought to Nameag I know not, (I am assured the Magistrates wilbe offended at this cariage, after they

know what was ordered.) What I may doe safely (with due respect to the Courts order) I shall doe readily, for their sakes, whom I highly esteeme, and if they have any corne or meale at Stamford, I would order the delivery, but as I have heard, when they had all the estate in their hands, the children went (if not naked) very vnsatisfyingly apparraled. With my best respects, I rest,

Yours in all offices of love, THEOPH: EATON.

NEWHAVEN, July 21th 1648.

THEOPHILUS EATON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull his much Honoured friend John Winthrop Esquire, Governour of the Massachusets Colonye, at his house in Boston dd.

MUCH HONOURED SIR, — Yours of the 11th (7) and 2d (8), I have received, and with due thankfulnes acknowledg your love, both in your advice concerning that uncleane person, and your inquirye concerning Mr. Combes case. His buisnes was heard, and as I conceive duely considered at two severall Courts, called purposely upon his importunity. He tooke out the copies of both, and they are pennd at large, which probably he would have shewed to Mr. Norton, had they made for his purpose, but Mrs. Stollyon dyed not intestate, nor was Elizabeth (now Mr. Combes wife) her onely child. I shall state, and as I may in refference to the administration, abridg the case, and crave your advice in it.

Mrs. Stollyon had 2 sonnes & a daughter; she lived long in England after her husbands death, but medled not with any part of his estate, further then her owne joynture extended, as her daughter, & others from Mrs. Stollyons mouth here, testefie. She came over to Newhaven

about 8 yeeres since, left her eldest sonne Thomas, & her daughter Elizabeth in England, her sonne Abraham came over with her, & stayd betwixt 4 & 5 yeeres, then by her direction or consent (to dispatch some occasions which concerned them) he went back into England, and returned not till his mother was dead. Mrs. Stollyon upon her death bed, Aº 1646, published a will here, which at her coming from England, she had made, and in the presence of 3 witnesses sealed, wherein she disposeth of some lands in England, and out of them settles 4*li* per annum upon her daughter, but the first payment to beginne, not onely after her owne death, but after the death of her sonne Abraham, (a small & inconsiderable respect, of a mother, having such an estate, to a child, then, yet she would not be perswaded to inlarge it, at her death. The cause might be, some miscariage, or offence, the daughter had given, not removed before Mrs. Stollyon came out of England, and whether healed before her death I cannot say.) She gives all her personall estate in old England to her sonne Thomas, all her personall estate in New England to her sonne Abraham, whom she makes her sole Executor, and till his returne, comitts the trust of the estate to Mr. Goodyere & Mr. Robert Newman our Ruling Elder, and before sundrie witnesses of creditt, her understanding & memory being cleere & sufficient, she declares & confirmes her last will to be as before expressed. In September or October 1646, Mr. Abraham Stollyon returned out of England to Newhaven, lookd over the estate, but would not receive it, scrupling that clause in his mothers written will, by which she gives him all her estate in N: England, when probably that estate was but shipped for N: England, not there, when that first will was made. Hereupon he leaves the estate still in trust, with Mr. Goodyere & Mr. Newman, and the same winter returnes for England to agree with his brother. Some difficulty he probably found in the composition, for Anno 1647, he nei-

ther came, nor gave direction to make over the estate. This yeere Mr. Combe made a voyage for it, brought over with him a copie of Mrs. Stollyons will, proved in the Prerogative Court by her sonne Abraham, and letters of administration of an after date granted to himself and his wife, but no copie of any order, overthrowing the will proved, or shewing whi after the will was proved, an administration was otherwise granted. Severall reasons he alledgeth but proveth nothing, nor could so much as frame any considerable objection against Mrs. Stollyons will as it was made, or confirmed here, nor was he able to give either the Court for the estate, or Mr. Goodyere & Mr. Newman, for the trust they had undertaken, both from the mother, and from the sonne, any satisfying security. By the premises, I conceive you will see, whi the Court could neither admitt the letters of administration out of England, nor grant Mr. Combe administration here, nor doe I conceive Mr. Combe needs much trouble himself, that certaine parcells of the estate are *bona peritura*, Mr. Abraham (as Mr. Combe was here informed) having now bought out his brother Thomas, and joyned two more with Mr. Goodyere & Mr. Newman to putt off, and make over the estate; and he further writes, that he hath paid Mr. Combe, what he could prove to be due, & taken his acquittance, not hearing (it seemes) of the letters of administration. If Mr. Combe in refference to his demands, or our proceedings, object any thing further, I desire that either your self, or Mr. Norton, wilbe pleased to call for his copies, under our secretaries hand, which will more largely shew his cariage, & our exercise. With my due respects to your self, Mr. Dudley, your Reverend Elders, and to Mr. Norton, I rest

Yours in all service of love THEOPH: EATON.

NEWHAVEN this 30th of October 1648.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Eaton about Mr. Combs, Recd 20 (9) 48."

THEOPHILUS EATON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Sir, — Yours of Decr 8th I received this last night. Concerning her that was Mr. Feakes his wife, and that part of the estate at Stamford, I know not well how to adde to what I formerly wrote. By order of a Court of Magistrates, William Hallet was to prove what part of the estate belonged to him, and then to receive it without further question. Mr. Feakes his estate, and children, were to be divided, and half to be delivered to her if she setled within any of the 4 Colonyes, where the goverment would have an eie to the children, & that part of the estate, with a due respect to Mr. Feakes; and the other half to be kept at Stamford, with like respect, to Mr. Feakes, & the children. I shall pass by her injurious writing to my self, desiring God may give her true repentance for greater miscariages; but her departure from Stamford with the children (as I am informed) was altogether without allowance, and in the language which comes from thence, she stole away. It is true, that by an order before the Court of Magistrates sate, she was to have 2 cowes delivred, and some provisions, but had no liberty to take away the children. I pitty her, & the children, and upon any reasonable security, at Boston or Hartford, that the estate shalbe preserved for the use of Mr. Feakes, her self, & his children, this jurisdiction being discharged, I shall move the Court of Magistrates, that the estate may be wholy delivered from Stamford, to such as may be orderly appointed to receive it; but no part of it is at Newhaven. I am altogether a stranger to Thomas Lyon and his wife; till now, I have not heard the least intimation, of her weakenes, or his neglect. From your information, I shall now enquire, and consider what the case may require. With my best respects, I rest Yours in what I may,

Newhaven, January 4th, 1648. Theoph: Eaton.

LETTERS OF JOHN HAYNES.*

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much esteemed freind John Winthropp, Esqr. Governour of Conectecott River, lett these bee dd.

Sir, — Oportunity offeringe it selfe, I gladly salute you with my best wishes. I am to solicite you in the behalfe of my neighbours & frinds of this towne, beinge vnwillinge to enterprise any thinge without your aprobation & good likinge: the businesse in a word is only this; wee taking into consideracion the hazard of our goods that wee haue sent, & shall send to the mouth of the riuer, for want of some shelter, would entreat you that a lott may bee granted vs, with leave to build a howse in some convenient place neare the river & forte, that ther wee may haue one resident to take care & chardge of our goods; as alsoe that sixe acres of planting ground may be added therunto, that the party ther abidinge may not bee altogether without employment: presuminge of your readynesse to condiscend to my request, haue sent one to that purpose. Not havinge further to trouble you for the present, with mine & my wiues kindest remembraunce to you, wishinge all good successe to your vndertakings, rest

Yours in all good offices Jo: Haynes.

Sir, — Conceauing there can come noe prejudice to you by this motion, I do salute you. H: Vane.†

* John Haynes, of Essex County, England, arrived at Boston, 4th September, 1633; was made freeman next year, and was also chosen Assistant; was Governor in 1635. He removed to Hartford, Connecticut, in May, 1637; of which colony he was first Governor in 1639. He was frequently re-elected to this office till his death, 1st March, 1654. He was distinguished for his abilities, piety, and public spirit. See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.; Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Allen's Biog. Dict. — Eds.

† This letter was probably written from Cambridge or Boston in 1636, when Vane was Governor. — Eds.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull his much honoured ffreind John Winthropp, Esqr. Governour of the Mattachosett, these bee dd.

Worthy Sir, — In my jorney towards Quilipiacke, I mett with this Panaquanike Indian, who being bownde for the Baye, repayringe to your selfe, requested mee to signify to you what hee is & his erraund. The party is knowne to vs, & his busynesse in particular to trucke for certeine squaes that were taken when wee invaded ther coasts. I leave him & what hee hath to saye to your wisdom to consider of. Wee have lately hadd a great floode, that came vpp to some of our howses, & carryed away a good parte of our fences in our lowe grounds, otherwise, wee blesse the Lord, wee are generally in good health. I should gladly crave a word from you, if any newes by the fishinge shipps from England. In much hast, my service presented to your selfe, Mr. Dudley, with the rest of our good frinds, I take leave.

Your assured ffrind Jo: Haynes.

Wethersfeild, the 27th of the 1st month, 1639.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Jo: Winthropp Esq. Governour at the Mattatusetts Bay, these present.

Honoured Sir, — Since your former, I received lately by an Indian messendger your last, wherin you mencion the claime that is made to the Mattabesicke Sachims land, lately deceased, mediating that they might not be preiudiced in ther rights. The truth is, we are most vnwillinge to offer them the least iniury in that kind. The case is really this,

we have, a pretty space since, in the life time of that Sachim that is nowe departed, bought his land, & have it vnder his hand, with witnes, &c, & are at the time of his death to enter vppon the whole, & it being the most considerable place of the river for plantation, not yet planted, we can by noe meanes tollerate ther residence in that place. I cannot advise, as the case stands, for Miantonimo to send his sonne hither, for ther will vndoubtedly be greater hasard of the safety of his person, then he is aware of. I shall acquaint you with the reason of my thoughts, when I see you, which I hope will be with the rest of the company about the begininge of the 3d month next. In the interim I recommend you to Him that is able to keepe you, & rest

Yours affectionatly Jo: Haynes.

Hartford the 29th of the 1rst mo: 1643:

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Haynes. — Recd. (2) 7. — 43."

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Jno. Winthrop Esq, Governour of the Mattatusetts, these present.

Worthy Sir, — The late & last newes from our native country,* comparing thinges together, seemes verry sadd & calls for our deepest humiliacion, & serious improvement of our best interest in heaven, by lifting vpp our cryes for the remnant that is left in these southerne parts; therfor our thoughts are vnanimously to observe a day once every month, to seeke the Lord in the behaulfe of His poore Churches ther & elsewher. We should be right glad of your concurrence, if it may seeme good to you, vntill we

* Intelligence had probably been received in the Colonies, at the date of this letter, of he surrender of the city of Bristol to Prince Rupert, the defeat of Fairfax at Adderton Moor, and the submission of many towns in the west of England to the king's authority. — Eds.

have further tidinges. Ther is lettres come, as you well know, from severall persons, to invite Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, & Mr. Damport. We heare your selves cannot thinke it a meete season for the sending Mr. Cotton, & I suppose, although we have not yett mett for a full determinacion, yett in all probability it will fall ther alsoe with vs, for times being soe hazardous, dificult enough to distinguish frinds from foes, Haven townes daily taken one each side, & that which is more the maine busines for which they are cheifly called, already sett in such a way, that they being trew to ther owne principles, may rather become a stumble then otherwis. The newes heere of the Indians is, & that for certeine, that both the Naragansetts & Sequasson have of late sent a great quantity of wampham to the Mowhawkes, to hire them to fight with the English & Mohegans, & it is said they have preveiled with them to come downe for that purpose, which if it proove soe, they deale not fairely with the English, (the Naragansetts I meane), having promised to be peaceable & quiett. If it please you therfor to acquaint them with what you heare, & to tell them what they doe by ther wampham, is as if they did it with ther owne hands, & wilbe soe taken. Hapily such a messadge in time may prevent a future inconvenience. Ther is a party whose name is Peter Barnefeild, that was lately at Fisher Iland, a carpenter, who, with the Bartletts, heertofor built you a barne, one knowen to your selfe, hath feloniously carryed away & embeseled the goods of Tho: Stanton, to the valew of 20*li:* & more, who is now at the Bay, & purposes to escape away to England. It is desired by my selfe & Tho: Stanton that you would be pleased to cause him to be aprehended, & forthcominge to answear the same.

Thus not doubtinge of your readines, out of your love to justice, I rest

Yours to serve in the Lord Jo: Haynes:

Hartford the 1st of the 10th mo: 1643.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much respected ffreind Jno. Winthropp Esq. these bee dd. att Pequoit.

Kind Sir, — I was much refreshed to heare of you & yours welfare. For these particulers you hinte & intimate concerninge Nincunnett, & his desires of leave for huntinge in the Pequoit country, you well knowe it is not proper for you or my selfe, or any one in particuler to intermedle, by giving way to a busines of this nature, without the consent & concurrence of all whom it doth concerne. Neither indeed doe I thinke it a fitt time & season for the party himselfe to make such a request. My reason is, hee is att this present, vnder vehement suspition of having a hand in that late combustion, by hiringe the Southerne Indians & Mawhawkes to fall vppon Vnckus, with great sommes of wampham given by him & other Narag: Sachims vnto them for that purpose. Hee cannot bee ignorant that vppon his & the rest vniust warr vppon Onckus, formerly, wherin they breake covenant with the English, (therfor cannot plead his inocency towards the English as Onkus, in that respect). Neither was those many Pequoits given him, which hee still deteins, but likewise it is reall & well knowen, the English, vppon this consideration, have ingadged to defend Onkus, in case the Narrigansetts shall by themselves, or others by ther instigation or procurement, att any time invade him; & therfor what they have done in this thing is soe farr against the English, & cannot but iustly give them offence, & I doubt not but it will bee required att his hand & the rest &c, either to cleare themselves, or other satisfaction, before hee cann in reason exspect much courtesy from them. For his other plea, hee is poore, & soe vnable to dischardge what hee owes to the English: I answer, hee

hath vnadvisedly brought this poverty one himselfe, by dealing iniuriously towards the English, in sending away his wampham to the aforementioned, for such an end as might have binne the cause of much trouble, if not of his owne ruine at last, had it not by the care of the English binne timely prevented: besids his answeare to the Bay is, that hee has paid his parte already, &c. These thinges considered, I may not condiscend to his request, only I must needes say his carriadge in the Bay, by what I heare, deserves comendation, if his performance bee answearable. I shall add noe more, but kind comendations from my selfe & wife, to your selfe, Mrs. Winthrop, & Mrs. Lake, if still with you. I am

Your assured loving ffreind Jo: Haynes.

Seabrooke this present of the 7th mo: 1648.

My wife continewes soe weake that I dare not as yet cary her vpp.

For the exchandge of gunnes, it cannot bee, itt beinge prohibited by the capitall orders in the Bay & heere.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much honoured ffreind Mr. Jno. Winthrop &c. att Pequoit these bee dd.

Sir,—I had not a season befor this present, to returne you thankes for your courteous lettre & newes, somme time since sent mee, neither had I oportunity to condole with you, that sadd losse of yours in particuler, & of all in generall, of that worthy servaunt of Christ, & great instrument of soe much good in these westerne parts (your deare ffather,) who served worthily in his generation, fallen asleepe, & now at rest. The memorial of the righteous is blessed, &c. The Lord shew vs what Hee calls for in these great

breaches in Church & State with vs. I well hoped to have seene you heere this Court, (but a heavy accident befalling your child interveeninge, your purpose obstructed) as I heare. It is absolutely necessary ther should bee with you that may exercise magistraticall authority, for graunt-inge warrants or the like, &c. I am therfor deputed (by our Court) by my selfe or somme other magistrate of this Juris-diction, to tender the oath that may put you in a capacity to that purpose, your selfe condiscendinge. If I comm, in regard of my wives weakenes, should bee willinge to meet you at Seabrooke, except your selfe please to affoard vs a visite in these parts. Ther is cognisaunce taken by our Court, of somme partyes resident with you, that are of ill fame, as one that was the wife sometimes of Mr. Feake, & who it seemes did confesse her selfe an adulteresse, (which is vppon record at the Dutch) & now pretends marriadge with another man, how trew or legall is not well knowen. I am therfor to acquainte you, that she with somme others are sent for by warrant to apeare att the Court heere, to answeare accordinge to the tenure therof. Wee could doe noe other but seeke to doe justice in such horrid facts, (if truth,) vnlesse wee should laye ourselves & others vnder guilt. What is done by the Court in an-sweare to the townes proposicions, you will vnderstand by the agents you sent. I hope you will well discerne our readines in answearinge desires that may bee for encoradge-ment. I shall trouble you noe further at present, only with my wives kind saluts to your selfe, Mrs. Winthrop, Mrs. Lake, I am

Your assured ffreind Jo: Haynes:

Hartford, this 18th of the 3d mo. 1649.

My wife is yett in the land of the livinge, only weake, keepes her bedd constantly, can only rise vp to make it, & to bedd againe. If she tryes to sitt vpp, falls presently into her violent fitts.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much respected ffreind, Jno. Winthropp Esq. these bee dd. att Pequoit.

Sir, — This Indian, the bearer heerof, makes complaint in the behaulfe of diverse others att Mohegan, that a great company of hoggs, to the nomber of thirty or therabouts, have bine lately with them, & destroyed many parcells of ther corne. They suppose they are Jacob Waterhowse his swine, but certeine they come from your towne. May you please therfor to acquaint Jacob with it, & depute 2 or 3 English to veiwe the harmes, with what speed may bee, that we may bee rightly informed, that a course may bee taken accordinge to justice & rightuousnes; which is the way wee ordinarily take in busines of that nature. I shall trouble noe further att present, only remembrance to your selfe, Mrs. Winthropp, & Mr[s]. Lake, from my selfe & wife, I rest

Your loving ffreind Jo: Haynes:

Hartford this 25th of the 3d mo: 1649.

JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much honoured ffreind Jno. Winthropp Esqr. att Pequoit, these bee dd.

Worthy Sir, — It much reioyces mee to heare of the good hand of God towards my poore companion & yoake-fellowe, in vouchsafinge those intermissions from her wonted violent ffitts, together with the hopes of His blessing vppon the meanes, for addition of further health, helpe, & strength. I am exceedingly engadged & oblidged

to your selfe for the great paines & care, & coust in administring to her, & visitinge of her. I shalbe studious what I may, for manifestacion of my thankfulnes, only feare, after endeavours that way, shall fall short of what were meete for mee to doe in that kind. Bee pleased att present to accept of a ffrinds small gift. I have putt aboard Jno. Gallopp (for your vse) a few thinges that I hope may bee vsefull, namely sixe bushels of barly mault, sixe bushels of Indian mault, & one bushel of oatemeale. These wilbe delivered to you, I pray call for them. I shalbe glad to see you att the Court of Election, in case your busines will permitt; if soe lett my howse be the place of your aboade while heere. I send you by this vessell those horse radish roots you mention. Wee have lately heard of Mr. Hopkins,* & by his lettre of his safe arrivall in England, after many dificulties, & desperate daundgers, to admiration. Hee seemes to crosse by his, what you hinted concerning peace with the Dutch, & saies they refuse vtterly soe much as to treate that way (except the parliament will revoake & call in ther Act concerning matter of trade, which I supose you have seene). The kingdom of England for the most parte seemes much dissatisfied, &c., & as much hartburninge. Other newes much as wee heard, only Cromwell is invited by the Prince of Condeo to aide him in France, who stands out vppon the same account as England did with ther king, for ther liberties. For Scotland, the cheife & almost all places of strenght are reduced, & the Commissioners from the Parliament of England who would have them vnder all one goverment with England, its liked of by somme, but oposed by others, which is the greatest party. Ther was lately fower of the Duch slaine by the Indians, which is like to create troubles ther. It is alsoe rumored

* Edward Hopkins, Governor of Connecticut, intended a visit to England in 1651; and appears to have been absent from the sessions of the General Court, after his election in May, 1652. — Eds.

that the ffrigotts who lately reduced Virginia * are likely to call in att Hudson's River as they coast alonge, & alsoe att De la Ware. Noe more att present, but kind saluts to your selfe, Mrs. Winthrop, Mrs. Lake, & Mrs Blinman, with thankes for your kind enterteinement, rest

Yours most assured Jo: Haynes:

Your miller procured an attachment (when hee was heere) against Hobby, & entered into band (& my selfe engadged with him) to prosecute an action of slander the next Court. The warrant is served vppon him accordingly, & himselfe, & vessell he came in, is staied, vntill security is given to answeare the sute. If the miller should not bee heere to prosecute, or his Attorney for him, with sufficient proofe to make good the chardge, ther wilbe great damadges recovered by the other party. Lett him know soe much, that hee may not miscarry.

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* The writer probably refers to the expedition, under Capt. Dennis, sent by Cromwell against Virginia in 1651. — Eds.

LETTERS OF GEORGE FENWICK.*

SIR ARTHUR HASELRIG AND GEORGE FENWICK TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his most Worthy frende, John Winthrope the younger, Esq:†

Sir, — You shall receiue from Mr. Hopkins a perticular of what is sent. Therin you shall finde our constancie and care. Our dependance on you is greate, wee neede not expresse it. Your abilitie to performe your vndertakeing we doubt not; your integritie to goe on with the woorke we suspect not; only our request is, that (with what speede possible may be) fitt houses be builded.

We write this (as we hope) to congratulate your ariuall, and to incourage your forwardnese, in a woorke of such exceedinge consequence. Wee shalbe happie to liue to see you, howsoeuer our best desires are yours, and wee

Your truest seruants A. Hesilrige.‡
Geo: Fenwick.

Lond: this 18 of Sept: 1635.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Sr. Arthur Haselrick & Mr. George Fenwicks letter."

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* George Fenwick, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, London, came over in May, 1636, and returned the same or the following year; but came back again, with his family, in July, 1639. He was interested in the Connecticut Patent, and now came as agent for the patentees, and established himself at Saybrook, which place he named in honor of two distinguished noblemen of the company he represented. His establishment was independent till December, 1644. He subsequently returned to England, was a colonel in the Parliamentary Army, member of Parliament, and named one of the "High Court of Justice" which condemned the King; but failed to serve. He died at Berwick, of which he was Governor, on the 15th of March, 1657. See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 306; Savage's Geneal. Dict. — Eds.

† John Winthrop, Jr., was, at the date of this letter, in London; whence he arrived here in the "Abigail," October following. — Eds.

‡ Sir Arthur Haselrig, Bart., was son of Sir Thomas Haselrig of Nosely, in Lincolnshire. Disgusted with the arbitrary government of Charles I., it is said that he intended,

GEORGE FENWICK TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his very loueing freind Mr. John Winthrope att Salem, thes.

Sir, — I thanke yow for your kind letter, & am as glad to heare of your welfaire as yow of my safe arriuall in thes partes, as I should also be to se yow & other good freinds there with yow. I thanke God I find noe want heare but company, which I hope the Lord in his owne tyme will supplie. Imployment I haue enough, if not too much for my weake number, which takes vp both my tyme & thoughts. I hope heare after I shall find a vacation to visit my freinds. I am glad to heare yow are about your salt workes, & wishe you hartilie all good successe, of which I shalbe exceeding glad to heare. If there be any thing wherein I can pleasure yow, I shalbe glad to doe it. In the mean tyme recomending my loue & respect to your selfe & bedfellow, with Mr. Peters & Mr. Endecott, I rest

Your loueing & assured freind Geo. Fenwick.

Conecticutt, Sept. 13th, 1639.

My wife remembers her respect to yourself & wife.

GEORGE FENWICK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his honored freind John Winthrop esqr, att his house in Boston, thes.

Sir, — When I was with yow I did not know how Mr. Whitefeild & I should devid. I thought it most equall

in 1637, in company with Cromwell and John Hampden, to leave his native isle for New England; but he did not sail. He was, with Fenwick, interested in the Connecticut Patent. He was a member of Parliament, and distinguished himself by preferring a bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford. He also showed great acrimony against the king, and was chosen a member of the "High Court of Justice" for the trial of Charles; but he never sat in that body. He was colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, called "the Lobsters," from their being so completely armed. He was one of the "Council of State," 1649; Governor of Newcastle in 1650; and, in 1654 and 1656, a member of Oliver's Parliament. He afterwards took an active part in the stirring events prior to the Restoration. He was sent to the Tower in 1660 by Charles II., and died in that or the following year. See Cromwelliana; Noble's "Memoirs of Several Persons and Families," &c.; Nalson's Journal of the High Court of Justice, &c.; Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, i. 497, 498. — Eds.

that he should haue had part stock & part of your debt, but he being vtterly destitute of catle, & relyeing vpon those he expected vpon his bargaine with my wife, I haue condiscended to lett him haue all the 5 cowes that remained of my wifes whole stock, and haue taken your debt wholly vpon my selfe, beinge confident that as your occasions will inable yow, yow wilbe mindfull of it. I speak not this to straiten yow, for the Lord knowes that from that respect I beare yow, for your publique mindednes & personall worth, I could be very reddi to doe a greater courtesie for yow, if it were in my power, yet my occasions are such, & my disappointments haue bene soe great, that I haue bene & am lik to be more straitned for moneyes this yeare, then in that litle tyme I haue liued I haue euer bene; for of 1000*l* & aboue I ordered to be returned into the Bay, I haue receaued but 326*l*, & it is very doubtfull what is become of the rest; as also after the death of my servant, I sent another for England to bring me some returnes, who was forced to goe about by Spaine, & I heare noething of him, though I haue a letter from John Wood, who mentions provisions he hath to bring for me from some freinds, but mentions not my man, which makes me the rather feare, because the letters I wrott by him were left behind, & sent by another conueyance, & by them such freinds as I wrot to may provid for me. The Lordes wilbe done. If he se not meet my occasion should proceed, according to my owne order & provision, I hope he will giue me a hart, with all humblenes, to be contented to haue them stayed or caried on after His good will & pleasure. I haue receaued the cow that was with you (by my servants), & shall not trouble yow now further, but presentinge my true respects to your selfe & bed fellow, I rest

Your lo: freind GEO: FENWICK.

SEABROOK 6º July 1640.

My wife remembers her loue to yow both.

GEORGE FENWICK TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much respected freind John Winthrop, Esqr. att Boston, this.

Sir, — Robert Saltonstall hath bene . . . . . .
that land he hath disposed w . . . . . .
the countrie gaue to his father . . . . . .
bought of Capt. Pathick the c . . . . . .
my letter to yow was, to manifest . . . . . .
& his gone, which his letter de . . . . . .
all to prejudice either. I wrott . . . . . .
wherby he desires me to take care . . . . . .
which I wonder he should doe w . . . . . .
of all to his sonne by the letter . . . . . .
The truth of the bussines vpon the . . . . . .
& discourse with Rob. I . . . . . .
did really giue him such po . . . . . .
verball reseruation to himself . . . . . .
not to answere his promises to h . . . . . .
& good behauiour for the time to com . . . . . .
of him. He is att present very se . . . . . .
passages & I would gladly hope) d . . . . . .
promise reformation, & to doe neer . . . . . .
advice of freinds, his present strait . . . . . .
discharge his present ingagments, he . . . . . .
with me to helpe him out of them, & althoug . . . .
neuer to haue had any dealings with hi . . . . . .
some experience of his setlednes, yet vpo . . . . . .
promises of future care in his occasio . . . . . .
more to performe them I haue consent . . . . . .
what I can, therfor Sir, if it stand any . . . . . .
conveniency to cutt of what he owes you . . . . . .
wayes with any other to further him, I shall allow . .
account. I haue also consented to lett him haue some
other moneyes that are oweinge to me, if he can make vse

of them. He also intreats me to be a sutour to yow on his behalfe, to further him to such moneyes as may be dew to him from the countrie, for his purpose is to dispatch as sone as he can, that he may returne & attend the aggrement with Stiles, which Mr. Haynes & others aboue conceaue wilbe for his advantage. I nead not say any more to yow, whom he hath euer found soe much his freind. I haue receaued the trees yow sent me, for which I hartily thanke yow. If I had any thing heare that could pleasure yow, yow should frely comand it. I am prettie well storred with chirrie & peach trees, & did hope I had had a good nurserie of aples, of the aples yow sent me last yeare, but the wormes haue in a maner distroyed them all as they came vp. I pray informe me if yow know any way to preuent the like mischeife for the future. Your sonne was with me befor your letter, & acquainted me with your owne & his desire. I did but expresse my hart when I told him I should be glad any way to pleasure either of yow, &, soe farre as it did concerne me, gaue my consent (with this reseruation, which I know in his owne disposition he would be reddie enough to yeald to), that if there were any fishing neare it (which soe farr as I se we must all suddenly seek after) you might [ ] me a liberty to make vse of part of it for that imployment, but whither euer there will be any such occasion or noe, I know not: soe with the tender of my owne & wifes loueing respects to your selfe & bedfellow, I rest your assured frend:

GEO. FENWICK.*

MAY 6th. 1641.

Your bill I left with Mr. Bellingham.

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* This letter is indorsed by Governor Winthrop, "Mr. Fenwick for money . . . payd to Mr. R. Saltonstall;" and by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Fenwicks consent for Fishers Iland." See further, in relation to this grant, in Public Records of Connecticut, i. 64. — EDS.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PYNCHON.*

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. John Wintrop Gouernor at Conettecot dlr.

ROXBURY, 22 Aprill, 1636.

MR. WINTROP, — My respectiue loue remembred: being glad to here of your safe ariuale, & of your comfortable hopes of a good proceedinge. My desyer is to see you, but because I desyer to hasten back, I shall not now find tyme to see you, I thinke. But I will hasten to setle myself there as soone as I can, & then I shall see all the plantations. It pleased God, by his prouidence to bring home the Blessinge,† before Mr. Allerton could be ready for vs, & so we haue agreed with your ffather [and?] Mr. Gibbins, for the fraight of 16 tunns of goods at 35*s.* to the river mouth; & also it is further agreed that if ther

* William Pynchon, named an assistant in the Massachusetts Charter, was from Springfield, Essex County, England. He came over with Winthrop in 1630, and settled first at Roxbury; but in a few years (about 1636) removed to Springfield, of which town he was the founder. He there lived till 1652; when he, with Capt. Smith, his son-in-law, and Rev. Mr. Moxon, the first minister of the town, went to England, never to return. He died at Wraisbury, on the Thames, in Buckinghamshire, in October, 1662. In 1650 was published in London a book written by him, entitled "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption;" which, on arriving at Boston, was publicly burnt by order of the General Court, and the author called to account for it. Norton was employed to answer this book; and published at London, in 1653, "A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity, the Sufferings of Christ," &c. Pynchon published a rejoinder in 1655; and followed up the discussion in a book, printed in 1662, called "The Covenant of Nature made with Adam Described," &c. The address to the reader is dated "From my study, — Wraysbury, Feb. 10, 1661." See *ante*, p. 285; 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 35; Savage's Geneal. Dict. — EDS.

† Gov. Winthrop's bark, the "Blessing of the Bay," which was launched at Mistick, July 4, 1631. — EDS.

a faier wind will giue way, we must haue our goods delivered at New Towne or Water Towne, at such further prise as shall be iudged by the medle prise of carrienge goods vp the riuer: & I doe earnestely intreate you to be a meanes to hasten them vpp, if by any meanes the wind will serue, for it will greately helpe to promote our worke, hauing so few hands to helpe vs, & so once more I pray further vs what you can. I haue but 4 peeces of cloth loose, being 4 speciall good peeces at 8*s*. heere, but fraight & venture will be 6*d*. in a yard more: so if you please you may haue them; or at least I pray lay them vpp safe for me: the contentes and cullers of the cloth are

1 violet, 35. *y*.
1 russet shagg, 37. *y*. $\frac{3}{4}$
1 murry, 35. *y*. $\frac{1}{2}$
1 russet, 35. *y*.

} so markd also on the cloth.

If you accept of them, send me word by my seruant, because else I may sell them to some of New Towne or Dorcester.

Also if you haue any further councill or aduise to giue me about plantation or the like, write me 2 or 3 words. Also you shall doe well to inquier & take careful informations about the Indians killing 2 of our men, that a course of iustice may be taken, so as may be cleere to all that the course is iust; & so if our goods be landed with you, doe vs all the kindnesse you can with howseroome: & so Jehouah blesse you in layeing a good foundation in all your vndertakinge for the publike.

Your euer assured faithfull ffreind,

William Pynchon.

I pray remember my harty loue to Mr. Gardener, & to the rest with you.

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Right Worshipfull & my worthy ffrend Mr. John Wintrop at Quinettecot Riuer mouth dlr this.

ROXBURY July 4, 1636.

DEERE & WORTHY FREIND,— My true loue remembered: I sent you a few lines by land, & now againe by sea, to assuer you that I forget you not: & the name of your good health is good newes vnto me. I suppose the former parsell of cloth is neere all gonn, & therefore I haue sent you a smale parsell more; the best that euer came to Quinettecot: the contentes are as followeth, viz: —

33 *y.* of tauny: plaine wool.
39 *y.* ¾ tauny shagg.
38 *y.* ½ liuer culler shagg.
38 *y.* murry shagg.
37 *y.* ¾ murry shagg.
38 *y.* of liuer culler shagg.

} 225. *y.* a 8*s.* — 90*li.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

All thes at 8*s.* per yard, better cloth by much then any I see heere in the Bay.

I pray accept my bill of exchang to you, by Mr. Peeter, for 63*li:* & as for the freight of the Blessing formerly, I haue a perfett account of it: but I haue not mett with Anthony Dike, to confer my notes with him.

& as for the fraught of the Batcheller,* I shall mak vpp the tunag with Mr. Gose at Watertowne, for thither I haue conditioned that she must deliuer our goods. I asked Lieftenant Gibins, before I would hier her, if she might goe as far as Watertowne, & he confidently affirmed she might, & that there is water enough: therefore I pray giue all the furtherance you can.

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* The "Bachelor" appears to have sailed on her second trip to Connecticut near the date of this letter. See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 389, 392. — EDS.

Also I received a parsell of course wampam from you, but I could not trade any of it, because others were furnished with plenty of better: but if you will send me a parsell of a 100 or 200 fathom of fine white wampam, I shall accept it as beuer. If you sell not this cloth, keepe it in good condition, & I will take it againe.

As for vsing ould traders to trade for you, it is not the best way for your gaine; for they know how to saue themselues; but a trusty man that neuer was a trader will quickly find the way of trading, & bring you best profitt.

& so the God of peace be with you euer.

Your euer louing ffreind

William Pynchon.

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. John Wintrop Gouernor of the Massachuset, dlr this in Boston.

Springefeild, this 19 of the 12 month 1643.

Mr. Gouernor, — My respectiue loue remembred vnto you & your wife, & to your son John Wintrop & his wife: I received a letter lately from you by Nippumsint, & another to Mr. Haines, which I sent him. I blesse God to heere of your good health, & I praise God we are all in good health & in peace in our plantation; & the Lord hath added some 3 or 4 yonge men out of the River, that are godly, to us lately: & the Lord has greately blessed Mr. Moxon's ministry, to the conversion of many soules, that are lately added to our Church: & hetherto the Lord hath preserued vs in peace from enimies. Much talk was of the great actes that the Mowhoaks would do at the begin-

ing of winter, but the latest reports are that they will not help Sowaquassim, & yet they kep his wampum. I doe not certainely heere whether they will aid the Naricanset Sachim, but as far as I can vnderstand they reiect him also. But wheras you writ that you thought the Naricanset Sachim would be content to sit still, my intelligence from the Indians of the River is otherwise: & they haue lately killd a Munhegan woman. I conceiue you vse your best endeuors to hould of the Naricanset, & I suppose they in the Riuer do also hould of Woncas, & in so doinge you doe well: & my advise is that neather you nor the riuer should do any thing else, but vse delatory meanes, for I perceiue the nature of the Indians is vppon eury like occasion to be much prouoked with the desyer of reuenge, but if meanes of delay be vsed but a while, the edge of their reuengefull desyer will soone be cooled. I perceiue they are carefull of this, not to begin first with the English, but they make account, if the English begin first with them, to doe great matters: & I veryly beleeve they may soone make lamentable hauock. But I hope the English will neuer put it to the tryall, till they be more then a litle prouoked to it.

I had not the news of England, in any large measure, till I had first written to Mr. Haines, but then he spedily sent me such bookes of records as he had, 7 or 8, wherin I blesse God to se that strict & godly couenant betweene England & Scotland. It is the high way of God for their deliuerance. I hope it is now the day of Antichrist's great ouerthrow at Armageddon. I greately long to here whether the Scotts be yet come into the aid of the Parliment. I hope you will haue newes by the fishing shipps err longe: & so the God of peace be our Foregaurd & Reareward all our dayes, Amen.

Your euer loueinge ffrind in the Lord,

William Pynchon.

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored ffreind Mr. John Wintrop Deputy Gouernor, this jn Boston.

SPRINGEFEILD this 15 day of Sept. 1645.

MR. WINTROP, — My best respect remembered, hopinge of the continuance of your good health. I cannot but admire at the particullorre wisdome & prouidence of God, that hath so ouerruled war as to make it the meanes of so hopefull an accord betweene Indians & English. If warrs had proceeded, as it was like, I apprehend it would haue cost the liues of many English, as well as Indians, partly by warrs, & partly by disordered hardshipp. Experience doth apparently shew it: for many of the souldiers of the River are returned very ill, & one of them is dead, & yet they were out but a very litle while, in comparison of that they must haue bin, if warrs had proceeded; or else if you had withdrawen your forces before the full conquest, the Indians would haue had liberty to doe a world of mischeefe. It seemes the Lord did not see sufficient ground as yet to shed so much blood as both sides intended, both of English & Indians; & therefore the Lord framed the hartes of the Indians to submitt. Suerly this was the Lords doing, & it ought to be maruelous in our eyes, & to be acknowledgd with all thanckfulnesse.

All the Moheganicks that are enimies to the Naricansett speake well of the Naricansett Sachim, & do perswad themselus that he means honestly, & that he will keepe his word. But they are iealous of the Nayantuk Sachim, conceiuinge that he will breake his word in the springe.

I wrote vnto you by Quodnams pinace, about one Mary Lewis, the wife of one Lewis, a papist. She hath bin aboue 7 years seperate from her husband, & is perswaded by others that she may marry by the lawes of England. She is easely perswaded to that, because she liues vnder

temptations of desyer of mariage, & I vnderstand lately that she is falen into a leauge of amity with a bricke maker of our towne: I gaue you what light I could in the case, & desyred you to take aduise at the Court, what I may doe in this case, if she desyer to be maried. She hopes that you will giue her liberty to mary in some short tyme: & therefore your answer to my letter requiers the more hast: & so the God of all peace be with you euer, Amen.

Your assured louinge ffriend euer,

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

Whether was their any speech aboute the purchase of the Riuers mouth.

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored ffreind, Mr. John Wintrop, deputy Gouernor, at his howse in Boston, thes dlr.

SPRINGEFEILD, this 4 of Nouember, 1645.

SIR, — My best loue remembered: this is the last opportunity, I feare, that I shall haue to write vnto you before winter, & though I haue no serious matter to writ of, yet I cannot loose this opportunity. I received yours about Mary Lewes,* who is now newley maried to a brickmaker. I thanke God I & my wife & family are in good health, & God hath been pleased to inlarge my ffamily. My only son † is now maried, & he hath brought home his wife this day to my howse, where he may continue as long as he finds it for his comfort & benifitt.

Yet the Lord is pleased to mingle some afflictions with His mercies, for the last Wednesday 2 of our Towne going downe the Riuer with a cano laden with corne & other

* See the preceding letter. — EDS.

† John Pynchon, who married, 30th October, 1645, Amy, daughter of George Wyllys of Hartford. The Hartford record gives the date of this marriage (incorrectly) as 6th November, 1645. — EDS.

goods, were cast away, eather a litle before they came to the forks or at the first enterance: I thinke it is the meere hand of God, & therefore I hope the Lord will help vs to search our waies, & labor for more weanednesse from thes emty cretures that are so vncertaine.

I intreat you if there be any newes stirring that you will impart what you know, as I thank you, you vse to doe.

I intreate you to remember my best respect to your wife, & to your sonnes, & to their wifes, to Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson, &c, & so the God of all grace & mercy supporte your hart in euery condition that God shall please to exersise you with all: & so I rest your assured louing ffriend & brother in the Lord euer

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO STEPHEN DAY.*

To his Louinge ffre[ind] Steeuen Day, tante uscu [torn] in Nipnett this dlr.

SPRINGEFEILD this 8 of the 8 month 1644.

STEEUEN DAY, — I received a letter from you by an Indian, who saith that his name is Ta-mug-gut. Whereas you write for butter & cheese, it is not to be had in all our plantation, I spend it as fast as I make it, because I haue much resort & many workmen, which eate it as soone as I haue it; & as for porke or bacon, I haue none, I haue not yet killd any hoggs; only 2 of our neighbors killd some yesterday: but the weomen say with carriage it will putrifie, especially seeing Indians will often linger on such a iorney two dayes: only I procured 3*li* of bacon of a

* Stephen Day, the first printer in New England, came over in 1638, under a contract with Rev. Jose Glover, who died on his passage. Day commenced printing in Cambridge in March, 1639. His name appears among the petitioners for a grant at Nashaway, now Lancaster, in May, 1644; and it may be conjectured that this letter was addressed to him while he was in that part of the country, engaged in the affairs of the new settlement. He died at Cambridge, Dec. 22, 1668. — EDS.

neighbor, which is sent you at 6*li;* & 2*li* of tobbacco I procured at another place, which cost 18*d* per *li.* I haue no pepper, but I haue sent 2 ounces of ginger at 3*d*, also I haue sent j*d* in white paper: sault, 1 quart sault, j*d;* 1*li* sugar, 20*d;* 4 loafes, 2*s.* 5*d.* The whole is 9*s.*, & the bagg & basket to put the things in 6*d:* so the Lord blesse you in your proceedings.

Your euer louinge ffreind

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

If you doe your businesse by Indians, you will find it deerer then to send an Englishman.

As for the blew wampam there is 18*s* of it, at 3 a peny, but I will not take such as this vnder 6 a peny: I had rather haue white wampam, then bad blew at 6 a peny. I will kepe it, because you may redeeme it for white, if you thinke good, our Riuer will vent of any course blew wampam, as the Bay doth.

I spake to this Indian in your behalfe: I tould him that the Gouernor sent you to serch for something in the ground, not for black lead, as they suppose, but for some other mettell: I tould him that the hill of black lead by Quassink, was not so good as that which lay southward of it, nere the cornefield, where one Namoswhat liues. I suppose it is 5 or 6 miles southward of that place by Quassink.

I tould the Indian also that the Gouernor did send you to see what friendship they would shew you. I tould him also that they might safely trust you, for venison or beanes, & wished them to let you haue such things vppon trust. I also shewed him how the trust might be made sure on both sides: by splitting a sticke in the midle & by making notches: euery notch to stand for 6*d.* in wampam: & that the Gouernor (meaninge Mr. Wintrop) would pay you at Boston in the springe of the yeere, though it were 20 fatham.

He tould me also that they would sell you beanes & corne & deere, as soone as they tak any deere: but I feare they will make you pay well for it. I giue for a good doe, 2 fatham, for a fawne of a yeere, 1 fatham: though yet I have bought none, nor do not expect any this 14 dayes at sonest.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Pinchen to Mr. Day about an other place of Blacklead."

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

SPRINGEFELD, this 7 of the 5 m, 1646.

MR. GOUERNOR, — I received your letter by one of Mr. Shepherds company, & thank you for your intelligence about the state of things in England. I conceiue it is now out of doubt that the Parliament haue preuailed ouer the malignant party, & though there be some iarrs betweene the Scotts & the parliament, yet I hope it will be reconsild without a warre. It would be an odious thing, all the world ouer, if such conioyned freinds in the common cause of religion should now fale together by the eares for smaler matters.

We haue a hand of God vppon vs on the River, in that our English corne is so much deuored by multitudes of catterpillars; the Lord affect our hartes, & humble vs kindly in the sight of our sins & provocations.

As for Daniell Turner, which I imprisoned with a lock, & committed him to the constable to worke with the lock on his leg in the day tyme, but ordered to hang a chaine vppon him in the night tyme: & so he did the first night, & made account to doe so the next night, but whiles the conestable was stept out of dores, he slipt away with his lock on: & in the night tyme came agane & entred into

the howse, for in the morning, when the conestable came in, he found 2 whit blanketts that were hanged vppon a beame gon: & the flocks shaked out of the tyke, & both bed tyk & boulster, & a bushell of meale in a bagg gon. I offerd our Indians a fathom of wampam to bringe him againe, but I herd by some of them that he was in that setlement, but now I heere by some of Mr. Shepherds company, especially by Mr. Damfort, that one Groug, that kepes the ordenary at Sudbury, tould him that theer was a yong fellow latly gon from his howse, that said he came from Springfeld, & that he would put himself into one of the men of warr. He said also that he had formerly dwelt with Mr. Starr, & he was in a whit wastcoate, & in a white pair of drawers, & that he had a pair of wodden held shoes. This is the clearer. He hath mad his clothes of the whit blanketts he stole, & sould the other things to the Indians for wampam; for he paid him in wampam: but when he was at Springfeld his iacket & breeches was made of mose skinn, but he had a payer of high heeld shoes. He stole also a pair of sizors, with which it seemes he cut out his sute. It is lik you may here tydings of him. If he be not suddenly taken, he knowes the way so well to play the theife, that he will do more robberies quickly.

I perceiue by some godly ministers that haue wrote into this country, that this is not a tyme of reformation, but of liberty of conscence. I beleeve by that tyme they see a litle more of the lawlessenesse of liberty of conscience, they will change their iudgmentt, & say that liberty of consience will giue liberty to Sathan to broch such horrid blasphemose oppinions, as were not the like in any age. The Lo[rd] awaken some able men to confut that vi[le] tenent.

I spake to Mr. Olcot to ship some corne & benes for me at Hart[ford]. Mr. Olcot refused to doe it, vnlesse I would haue it entred accord[ing] to their order: else he said it might come into a great deale of [*torn*]. I wrote to Mr. Olcot that we being of the Bay jurisdiction, were no[t]

within the compasse of their order: therevppon I gave order [to] him that shipped our goods not to enter them; & I tould him that if they would arest our goods, I had rather they should doe it now then another tyme. Yet Mr. Olcot perswaded him that shipped my goods to enter them, contrary to my expresse order. Since that tyme I shipped more corne, which I gaue order should not be entered: & it was not, neather is it arested that I heere of. Methinkes it is strange to my vnderstandinge, that they should so much as once offer to make vs pay to the purchase of their fort pattent & howseinge, seeing we haue no interest therin, as all ioynt purchasers must haue. They plead we ought to pay to that purchase as well as themselues, because we haue as much benifit by the fort as themselues: that plea must stay till there be a fort there, & till it be maintained as a fort. That plea cannot fetch vs in to pay towards this purchase, except we consented, & had an equall interest therin with themselues. But if we should be forced to such a thinge, this plantation will be deserted. I think no man will dwell heere to be brought vnder such payments. I desyre your advise, whether we were best to enter our goods or no. My owne apprehensions are that we ought not to doe it: & so Jehovah cause His face to shine vppon you euer.

Your assured louinge brother euer,

William Pynchon.

I heere that Gorton arested Captaine Cook & Mr. Tyng for satisfaction of the wrongs don him by the Bay: but there is a speciall prouidence of God in that act, to clere the iustice of the Bay, & to open his infamy to the world, for he was whipped & stockd for his lewdnesse by the Iland themselues. This will clere the justice of New England to the Parliament more then any thing that man could haue devised, by that tyme the answer is returned.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Pynchon, (5) 46."

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

SPRINGEFEILD this 9 of the 1. m. 1646.

WORTHY & MUCH RESPECTED, — I receiued your letter by my neighbor Cooper: & am glad to heere of your welfare. I received also your extracts, & after I had coppied them, I sent your coppie to Mr. Hopkins as you directed. I cannot but be much affected with that malignant spirit that breathes out in their endeuors, because by their manner of proceedinge (though they pretend honest reformation, yet) it seemes to me they would destroy both Church & Commonwealth, in laboring for a generall Governor, & in charging treason by conniuence vppon the Court, not consideringe that the Parliament it self is faint to beare much about speeches & books printed, which doubtlesse they would not beare if it were a tyme of solid peace.

But how soeuer, their endeuors cannot but haue an ill construction; yet I thinke the Courte both of magistrates & deputies, should not turne of all the particulars wherein they desyre a reformation, without making a right vse of so much of their position as doth iustly cale for reformation: for as we had the happinesse to be bredd & borne vnder such lawes for ciuill gouerment as I conceiue no nation hath better, so it should be our care, in thankefulnesse both to God & that state, to preserue & adhere to what euer lawes or customes they haue, except those that be contrary to God, & therin we must obey God & not man, & yet we haue liberty from the pattent to make what soeuer by lawes may tend to the good of this place: & I cannot but apprehend that your spirit lies this way, for I remember at oure first comminge, as soone as euer the people were diuided into seuerall plantations, you did presently nominate a conestable for each plantation, as the most common officers of the king's peace, & gaue them their oath in true

substance as the conestables take it in England: likewise all controuersies about *meum* & *tuum* were tryed by juries, after the manner of England, & after a while grand juries were appointed, for further inquiry into such matter as might tend to the king's peace; & still thes courses, I thinke, are contin[ued,] & thes courses are the best courses that this Commonwealth can take, if they ha[ue] free liberty to alter: as Fortescue in commedation of the lawes of England [to] my satisfaction doth shew. He giues good reasons for the necessary vse of juries for all tryalls, shewing that it is consonant to the word of God, & preferrs it far aboue the course of justice in France, which is also of high respect.

But that wherein I feare the Generall Court is most faulty is, in that they doe not issue out all warrantes in the name of the kinge: I know no hurt in it: for what though the kinge be neuer so corrupt in religion & manners, yet if his subjectes will be faithfull to the lawes of England, he cannot hurt his subjects, for when warrantes are issued out in the name of the kinge, they are not issued out in the name of his personall prerogatiues, but in the name of his power, which is his lawes, & therefore if his subjectes will sticke to his lawes, (as the Parliament do at this day) the king cannot wrong them. Thes things you know much better then my selfe.

Againe, by the lawes of England, if any of our people will stand vppon the priuiledge of an English subject, they may, I conceiue, lawfull[y] disobey warrants of processe, or attachments & the like, in case the warrants be not made in dew fourme, accordinge to the lawes of England: as, for example, if they be not dated, or if they be dated in any place out of the Jurisdiction, or if they be not subscribed by such as are in authority, thes & many such like circumstances may mak warrantes illegall, & so a nullety, as Dalton in his Country Iustice sheweth at large; & to my greefe I haue seene many warrantes failing in thes circumstances. But aboue all, if warrants be not sent out in the

name of the king, they are not legall: we are not a ffree state, neather do I apprehend that magistrates, elders, or deputies doe think we are a ffree state, neather do I think it our wisdome to be a ffree state; though we had our liberty, we cannot as yet subsist without England.

But as for their desyre of an inouation in church [*torn*] not proceed out of zeale of Gods glory, neather is the reform [*torn*] that they can as yet presume what it will be for there [*torn*] breach betweene Presbuterians about settling the presbute [*torn*] betweene them as betweene the presbeterians & the independa [*torn*] that if the most ministers in England were for the indepen [*torn*] New England, that the parliament would as soone establish the indep [*torn*] for they are at a great distance with the Scotish way: for the parliament doe not hould any certaine fourme of church gouerment to be commanded in the particulars thereof, as the only way of Christ, as the Scotts do: for the Scotts say that their fourme of presbuterian gouerment is the only way of Christ, & the Independents say that their fourme of discipline is the only way of Christ. But the Parliament say that neather of them is the only way of Christ, & therefore they haue ordained Comissioners to superuise the conclusions of the presbuterian Courtes. But truly where zeale of God's glory & godly wisdome are ioyned together: a world of good hath bin don by godly ministers, euen in England, that haue held no certaine fourme of discipline: on the contrary, where a could spirit doth rule in ministers, though they may haue a good fourme of gouerment, there people may be said to haue a name to liue, & yet be but dead christians.

I thanke you also for the coppie of the Generall Court, about declaring their iudgment for our paying to the purchase or custome of the Rivers mouth. I received the lik from the Secretary, but I did not think it wisdome to send it to Mr. Hopkins, because I here by severall persons that he & Mr. Whiting were chosen Commissioners, & that they

did resolue, if they can, to bring vs vnder their power in that point. The point hath bin disputed among themselues, & some of their deputies would not haue vs to pay, fearing least the Bay may do the lik to them: but it seemes they think you cannot by the lik iustice make them pay, as they haue to mak your subjectes pay to them.

Lately my son was at Hartford, & spake of this coppi to one of Hartford, who spake of it to the gouernor. After that the gouernor askd my son if I had not sent the coppi to him. He said no, & so they had no more speach: but the next day the former party tould my son, that Mr. Hopkins said it was nothing to them what the Generall Court had don in the Bay; for the Court of Commissioners was the Supreame Court, & what they did must stand; & therein it is likely they may haue the vantage of the Bay, for when Mr. Endicot came last from New Hauen, he tould me that New Hau[en] Commissioners were wholly for our payeing to the River, & that Plimouth Commissioners were wholy silent: but methinks, seeing you haue made an order to fr[ee the] Vnited Colonies from all charges to that fort in the Bay, it may be a leading principle to them to think it but iustice that the River should do the lik for your subjectes; or else if they begin, & you should withdraw that order, & make them all contribute, it would not be so much sauoring of mutuall concord as ought to be.

Mr. Endicot did shew himself faithfull to the Commonwealth in not yeelding at that tyme, & yet I had not spoken so much as the least word to him about it, neather did it come into my minde till his returne, & then he tould me how earnest the Riuer were to haue them yeeld.

There was also an order of Generall Court sent to the conestable for a leuie vppon our plantation. But I shall write to goodman John[son] about that, if the messenger will but stay. The summe is this, to intreat the Court, in the name of our plantation, to spare them for this yeere, promisinge to be ready to expresse their willingnesse for

tyme to come. He will acquaint you more fully with our desyr, hoping you will be pleased to solicit the Generall Court for their forbearance for this yere.

There is no newes worth the writing, but we are all in good health at present. I pray remember my best respect to your wif & to your sonns & daughters: & I would intreate you, if you think good, to shew this letter to goodman Johnson who is my vsuall agent in matters that may conserne our plantation; & I haue not tyme to writ to him as I would. So the God of all peas be with you euer, Amen. Your assured louing brother euer,

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

Hast — hast.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Pincheon, Rec: 16 (1) 46."

WILLIAM PYNCHON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored ffreind Mr. John Wintrop Gouernor at Boston this dlr.

SPRINGFEILD, this 19 October, 1648.

SIR, — I cannot omitt to writ to you now & then, though I haue no matters of consequence to impart vnto you. I know no late newes, since I wrot to my sonn, who I mak accont did impart to you what I wrote to him.

When Mr. Hopkins returned home, he came wett to my howse, & taried till next day, almost mid-day after, but he spake nothing to me, nor I to him, about our businesse: but I vnderstand from my sonn that all the pains of the Committy hath bin in effectuall hitherto. Ther-vppon I haue written a letter to Goodman Johnson, who is my faithfull agent, to communicate my further appre-

hensions to the Commissioners, & if they see any thing in it, worthy notinge, then it is to be commended to the consideration of the Generall Court: & now at this tyme also the Generall Court is begun at Harteford; I think yesterday it begann.

One thinge I cannot omitt to write vnto you. When Mr. Ludlo lay at my howse he tould me that he saw two sheets of the orders printed, & he did much blame the meanesse of their framing & contriuinge, & wished they might be corrected before any coppies were sent into other parts. But often tymes it fals out that a man may be one of the 20 that will find fault, & yet be none of the 20 that will mend them.

I much longe to heere out of England. I look vppon that land as in the saddest posture that euer they were, for danger of ruine. The Lord in mercy turne the whele vppon the wicked, & let them that loue the Lord in sincerity shine as the sunn in its strength.

So resteth your assured louing brother in the Lord,

W. Pynchon.

LETTERS OF THOMAS HOOKER.*

THOMAS HOOKER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much Honored & worthy freind Mr. John Wynthropp, Governor, at the mouth of the river of Conitticut, these.

Worthy Sir, — Your letter coming but late this evening, immediatly before your servants were returning, I am forced to shorten these few lynes. Your charge & advise is seasonable, & so exceeding vsefull, that I should be much awanting in my duty to God, & that due respect I owe vnto your self, if I should not help forward the execution of so good a work. I haue observed in my life tyme that want of prudence & providence hath occasioned the most of hazards that befall men in their life. I desire that we may not preiudice the Lords care he hath had of our preservation, & our owne comforts : for the way is open & easy, in my apprehension, to prevent any pretended evill, if we be faythfull to attend God's way. I heard but this day, how likely the trade is to miscary, for want of care in setling of it. If you be pleased suddaynly to advise, that a course may be taken by the mutuall agreement of all the plantations, & that execution may be

* Rev. Thomas Hooker was born in Leicestershire, England. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was afterwards chosen one of the Fellows. Subsequently he became a lecturer at Chelmsford, in Essex; and preached for a time in London. Being subject to annoyance for his Puritanism, he went to Holland; where he spent four years in the exercise of his profession. He came to this country in 1633, in company with the Rev. Samuel Stone and Rev. John Cotton; arriving at Boston 4th September. He settled at Cambridge, but in June, 1636, went to Hartford with a majority of his parishioners, where he resided till his death, 7th July, 1647, in his sixty-first year. He was one of the most distinguished of the early clergymen of New England. See Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., i. 108, 109; Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Allen's Biog. Dict. — Eds.

speedy, & through for the accomplyshment of it, it may yet be recovered, but delay will breed a vtter & irrecoverable decay. The good Lord bless you in your way & work: which he wisheth who is

Yours in all due respect, T: Hooker.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Hooker, 1636."

THOMAS HOOKER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored freind John Wyntrop Esquier his house at Boston dd.

Much Honored in our Blessed Saviour, — When I first heard of those heavy distractions which have risen so vnexpectedly, I did reioyce from the root of my heart, that the Lord did, & hath gratiously kept you from any taynt of those new-coyned conceits. The Lord strenghthen & establish you in every holy word & work. In a good cause He hath given you gratious abilityes to do Him much service, & I am perswaded He will blesse you in such indeavors. You know my playnnesse: you can not keepe your comfort, nor an honorable respect in Christ in the hearts of His, more then in keeping closse to the truth. You shall have what interest I have in heaven to help you in that work. How the Pequoyts have made an inrode, by a suddayne surprisall, vpon some of our brethren of Watertowne,* slayyng weomen & children, who were sent out carelessly, without watch & guard, this bearer will tell you.

Though we feele nether the tyme nor our strenght fitt for such a service, yet the Indians here, our frends, werr so importunate with vs to make warr presently, that vnlesse

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* This attack of the Pequots upon Watertown (now Wethersfield), Conn., took place in April, 1637. — Eds.

we had attempted some thing, we had delivered our persons vnto contempt of base feare & cowardise, & caused them to turne enemyes agaynst vs. Agaynst our mynds, being constrayned by necessaty, we haue sent out a company, taking some Indians for guides with vs. What is done, you will better heare it by report, then I shall relate it by penn, for our men went downe as these pynaces came to vs. Only we heare, ther is six of the Pequoyts slayne by our Indians, not far from the fort. I hope you see a necessity to hasten execution, & not to do this work of the Lords revenge slackly. I shall commend the cause to your love & wisdome, & your self to the rich mercy of our God in Christ, & in all thankfulnes for all your love, rest

Yours in all due respect T: Hooker.

THOMAS HOOKER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much Honoured freind John Wyntropp Esquier, Governor of the plantations in the Matcheshusets Bay, dd.

Much Honored in our Blessed Saviour, — At the returne of our Magistrates, when I vnderstood the gratious & desired successe of ther indeavor, and by the ioynt relation of them all, not only your christian readines, but enlarged faythfullnes in an especiall manner to promote so good a work; though the appearance of flattery (if I know my self & be knowne to you) be not only crosse to my conscience but to my disposition, yet my heart would not suffer me but as vnfeynedly to acknowledge the Lords goodnes, so affectionately to remember your candid & cordiall cariage in a matter of so great consequence; laboring by your speciall prudence to settle a foundation of safety and prosperity in succeeding ages: a work which will be found not only for your comfort, but for your crowne at

the great day of your account.* Its the greatest good that can befall a man in this world, to be an instrument vnder God to do a great deale of good. To be the repayrer of the breach, was of old counted matter of highest prayse & acceptance with God & man: much more to be a meanes, not only to mayntayne peace & truth in your dayes, but to leave both, as a legacy to those that come after, vntill the coming of the Sonne of God in the clouds.

I know my place & I would not abuse your pacience, or hynder greater imployments: my ayme is nakedly this; to be in the number, & to have my voice with those, that whyle your self & your faythfull Assistants, (as Zerubbabell & his fellow helpers) be laying the first stone of the foundation of this combynation of peace, I may crye grace, grace, to your indeavors. And by presenting the worth and acceptablenes of the work before you, to strengthen your hands, & encorage your hearts to proceed on with blessing & successe. Goe on therefore (worthy Sir) & be ever enlarged in such worthy services, & the God of truth & peace will ever be with you, which he desires dayly to begg, who desires to be

Yours in all due respect THO: HOOKER:

The 15th of the 5th mon: 1642: SEA-BROOKE:

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Hooker Grat [*torn*] Rec: (5) 24, 1643."

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* The writer is here evidently referring to the agency of Winthrop in the establishment of the "Confederacy" of the New-England Colonies, which was happily brought about this year. The Commissioners of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and the General Court of Massachusetts, met at Boston in May of this year, and substantially agreed upon the "Articles of Confederation." — See Hazard, ii. 1 *et seq.*

A most interesting and important letter of Thomas Hooker to Gov. Winthrop has been found by J. H. Trumbull, Esq., Secretary of State of Connecticut, within a few years past, in the Massachusetts Archives in the State House, and is printed in the first volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. It is in reply to the letter of Winthrop to Hooker (not known to be extant), of which a summary is given by Winthrop himself in his History (see addenda to second volume of Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., p. 428). The correspondence took place in the autumn of 1638. If the perusal of it should leave an impression that there had been any disagreement between these old New-England worthies, the beautiful tribute which Hooker pays to Winthrop's conduct and character, in the letter here given, would be sufficient to show that such disagreement was of short duration. — EDS.

LETTERS OF ROBERT RYECE.*

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the very Woorshipfull his moche respected good friende Mr. Wynthop geve these at Grotton.

Woorshipfull Sir, — I am very lyke, the Lorde assistinge, to be with you the nexte Lords daye, to performe in that behalfe what yee haue desyred.† I thanke you for your lettres, & for your soonnes lettres,‡ which I heere retorned agayne. I sende you of France suche a mappe as I have.

The messenger hasteth his retorne, which maketh mee breefe. And so with remembrance of my beste respecte vnto you & vnto Mres. Wynthrop, I take my leave & remayne Yours euer redely to his power

Robert Ryece.

Preston, 23 of Auguste 1627.

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* Robert Ryece, of Preston, in the county of Suffolk, sometimes called the Suffolk Antiquary, is said to have "had his education some years in the house of Mr. Theodore Beza, at Geneva," and to have been "an accomplished gentleman and a great preserver of the antiquities of this county." His wife was Mary Appleton, of Little Waldingfield; of the same family with our honored benefactor, the late Samuel Appleton, Esq., of Boston, to whose bounty we owe the Publishing Fund, from the income of which this volume is printed. One of Robert Ryece's nephews has left this testimony to his character: "He was bountiful to the poor, good to his friends, a Christian to his enemies, gentle to all, and to me a good uncle: so I testify. — Robert Appleton." Ryece seems to have written to Governor Winthrop under more names than his own. The absolute identity of handwriting would leave no doubt, even if other evidences were wanting, that the letter signed *Lawrence Browne*, and the three letters signed *Thomas Smythe*, all of which will presently be given, were as much Ryece's as those which bear his own signature. The letters signed with his own name will be given first in their order; and opportunity may be found, in connection with the others, for further reference to this mystery. Ryece died about 1638. For his Will, and other illustrations of his life and character, see "Memorial of Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, Mass.," &c.: Boston, 1850, pp. 70–82. — Eds.

† Winthrop's son Samuel was baptized at Groton, 26 August, 1627; and Ryece may have been invited to stand godfather. — Eds.

‡ John Winthrop, Jr., was at this time serving in the Duke of Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé; and his letters thence had doubtless been sent to Ryece for perusal. — Eds.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Woorshipfull his moche respected good friende Mr. Wynthrop at Bury, geve these.

Sir, — Were I able to ryde so farre, I woolde wyllingly haue attended you this daye, not for the leaste abyllytie of any service which I can performe, but to shewe the beste of my affection to so deservinge a good friende. ffor the subiecte you wrytte of, breefely & playnelye to shewe you my mynde, what so ever other saye, I pray you geve mee leave in one woorde to shewe you. The Church & Common welthe heere at home, hathe more neede of your beste abyllytie in these dangerous tymes, then any remote plantation, which may be performed by persons of lesser woorthe & apprehension, which I coolde shewe, yf I had tyme to thinke vpon dyversities of reasons which mighte be produced. Agayne, your owne estate wylbe more secured in the myddest of all accidents heere at home, then in this forreine expedition, which discovereth a 1000 shipwrackes which may betyde. All your kynsfolkes & moste vnderstandinge friendes wyll more reioyce at your stayenge at home, with any condition which God shall sende, then to throwe your selfe vpon vayne hopes, with many difficulties & vncertaynties. Agayne, you shalbe more acceptable in the service of the Hieste, & more vnder His protection whiles you walke charely in your vocation heere at home, then to goe owte of your vocation, comyttinge your selfe to a woorlde of dangers abroade. The pype goeth sweete, tyll the byrde be in the nett; many bewtifull hopes ar sett before your eyes to allewer you to danger. Plantations ar for yonge men, that can enduer all paynes & hunger. Yf in your yewthe you had byn acquaynted with navigation, you mighte haue promised your selfe more hope in this longe vyadge, but for one of

your yeeres to vndertake so large a taske is seldome seene but to miscarry. To adventure your wholle famylly vpon so many manifeste vncerteynties standeth not with your wysdome & longe experience. Lett yonger yeeres take this charge vpon them, with the advyse of that which elder yeeres shall directe them vnto, the losse shalbe the lesse yf thay myscarry; but there honor shalbe the more if thay prosper. So longe as you sytt at the helme, your famylie prospereth, but yf you shoold happen to fayle, your flocke woolde be at the leaste in hazarde, if not totally to myscarrye. Yonge mens directions thowghe sometymes with some successe, do not all wayes succeede. These remote partes wyll not well agree with your yeeres; whiles you are heere you wyll be ever fytter by your vnderstandinge & wysdome to supplye there necessities. But if it shoolde happen that you shoolde gett safely thither, you shall soone fynde, how necessitie wyll calle for supplie from these partes. I pray you pardon my boldnes, that had rāther erre in what I thinke, then to be sylente in that I shoolde speake. How harde wyll it bee for one browghte vp amonge boockes & learned men, to lyve in a barbarous place, where is no learnynge & lesse cyvillytie. I beseeche the Lorde to directe you, & to keepe you in all your wayes. Thus in haste with the beste remembrance of my true affection vnto you, I leave you to the protection of the Allmightye and do reste

Yours ever in all true affection

Robt. Ryece.

Preston, this 12 of Auguste, 1629.*

* The date of this letter was just a fortnight before that of the memorable Agreement at Cambridge, by which Winthrop and others pledged themselves to embark for New England. Winthrop had doubtless invited Ryece and others to meet him at Bury to consult on the subject. — Eds.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the very woorshipfull hys mooche honored good ffriende Mr. Wynthop at his howse at Boston in Newe Englande geve these.

Moste deere & Christian Ffriende, — Your moste kynde lettres of the 29 of June 1636, came safely to my handes the 3 : of November laste, by which I doe perceyve, you had not then received any lettres from me for this yeere. Sir, your contynewall love to Gods Church, & His servantes, doothe euer make mee so longe as I lyve to be myndefull of you, even with my beste endeavours : and for writinge to you, I wrotte vnto you the 17 of Maye laste, accompanied with a boxe of boocks, which I sente by my brother Samuell Appleton, to be convayed to hym for you ; nowe yf thay bee not yett come to your handes, as I feare thay are not, for abowte the 8 of this moneth I received lettres from my brother Samuell, dated the 19 : of October laste, by which I perceyve he had not then received my lettres, nor sondry other thinges accompanied therewith ; ffrom whence I do feare, as many others else doe heere, that the schippe with the passengers, mooche stuffe & goods, are all perished by the waye. I wrotte also vnto you the 9 of September laste, which I hope maye be safely come to your hands, and I hope agayne by the nexte opportunitie, God wyllinge, to wryte vnto you. I am muche beholdinge vnto you for your lettres and advertisements, beinge very sory I can not now make any requitall agayne. I am styll a bolde petitioner to you to helpe vs to a mappe of your contry as it is now inhabited, & is ioyned with new plantation of Conetticote, & yf wee lyve, wee hope to be very thankefull for the same.

There is a matter wherein I am entreated to wryte vnto you, in the behalfe of one Mres. Sarah the wyfe of Mr.

Henry, surnamed the blacke Henry Coppinger of Lavenham, that whereas now allmoste 4 yeeres synce the sayd Mres Sarah had owte of the frugallitie of hir owne laborious industrye, withoute the privitie of hir husbande, gathered the summe of xj*li*, which desyringe to putt it owte for benefyte of hir poore children, yonge Hamonde heere of Lannam then beinge heere, & vnderstandinge of hir purpose, moved Hamonde [*sic*] for the mony, promisinge restitution after a yeere, with as moche more for the gayne. Heerevpon, heere more xx*s* was delivered with the mony, in good penny woothes of goods, & Wylliam Payne, late of Lanham, nowe of Newe Englande, gave them his woorde for the repaymente of the said 12*li*, with the profitt thereof arisynge within a yeere; synce which tyme shee never harde of Hamonde, one whitt, but that he is deade, & shee withowte all meanes for hir mony: ffrom whence shee hearinge that you have in Newe Englande all good lawes to recover debttes, entreated mee to wryte vnto you in her behalfe, beinge vnknowne to you, to desyer you to commone with olde Hamonde & with Wylliam Payne abowte this debtte, & how it may be recovered. Sir, I praye you beare with my boldenes, you can not doe a more meritorious deede, wee wyll all be thankefull vnto you for it. Newes wee have none heere that good is. All your friends heere are well, bothe at Lanham & otherwheare. So remembringe my beste affection vnto you, I ende, beseechinge the Allmyghtye to keepe you in all your wayes, & do remayne

Yours ever moste bownde in all Christian observance

ROBERT RYECE.

PRESTON this: 17: of January 1636:

I Thomas Roote, now of Lavenham, doe wytnes that I harde the sayd Wylliam Payne then heere at Lavenham to geve his woorde in my presence to Mres Sarah Coppinger, that yf yonge Hamonde dyd not paye the mony agayne to

the sayd Mres Sarah Coppinger, that he woolde then make good & paye the principall which is aleven powndes. And this can the wydowe Onge, now of Waterton in Newe Englande, but then of Lavenham, in whose presence & in hir shoppe wytnes. THOMAS ROOTE.

I haue seene a lettre of the sayd Wylliam Hamonde, dated at Watertowne in Newe Englande the: 4: of July: 1635: to Mres Coppinger, wherein he promised hir, by the helpe of God, to be heere in Englande, betweene that & Christetyde nexte followenge, & so to pay hir hir monye.

I have seene also another lettre dated at Watertowne the 15 of July laste, from William Hamonde the elder to the sayd Thomas Roote, to desyer hym to goe to his moother, the widowe Stewarde of Cockefielde, to whom he had signified in a lettre that shee shoolde paye the mony in question to the sayd Thomas Roote, for to paye it over to Mres Coppinger accordingly, but the sayd wydowe Stewarde denyed the sayd Roote to paye one pennye of it.

Nowe for that it may be demanded whie the husbande of Mres Coppinger (who is of sufficient abyllytie to deale in this buysynes) is not prevye to this matter, that is awnswered, that it is vnseemelye for the wyfe to reveale the husbands defects, who if he knewe of it or coolde fynger it, woolde soone spende it, as formerly myserable experience hathe tawghte, from whence shee is enforced, withowte his privitie, to seeke to recoover it, only for the supplie of hir owne & hir childrens necessitie. And if it shoolde so falle owte that any wayes paymente heereof be made, then it is humbly desyred you woolde be pleased to sende it to mee for hir.

Yours ever & vnfaynedlye ROBTE. RYECE.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the woorshipfull his moste respected good ffrinde Mr. John Wrinthrope esqr. at his howse at Boston in Newe Englande geve these.

Sir, — This bearer, Mr. Fyske,* beinge one every waye so pious & religeous, needes not my comendations of hym, but the malignitie of the tymes, removinge hym with sondry others of his profession into your partes, hathe required this shorte wrytinge of mee, in his behalfe, that what imployement you can procure hym, I may be thankefull vnto you for it. Hee is a graduate, & havinge preached mooche, seinge the danger of the tymes, he changed his profession of divinitie into phisicke, wherein he hathe now laste warde employed hym selfe. He is a good schollar & an honeste man. I pray pardon my abrupte & sooddeyne writinge. I can stay no longer, but after the true remembrance of my beste respecte vnto you, I take my leave this 19 of Apryll, 1637, and do remayne

Yours euery wayes mooche bownde

Robte. Ryece.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Ryece per Mr. Fiske."

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* The writer refers to the Rev. John Fiske, who was born at St. James's Parish, in South Elmham, Suffolk, 1601, and educated at King's College, Cambridge. He came over in 1637; settled first at Cambridge, but removed the same year to Salem, where he taught the grammar school; Sir George Downing being among his pupils. He was ordained at Wenham, 8 Oct., 1644; and removed to Chelmsford in 1655, where he died 14 Jan., 1677. Mather's Magnalia, iii, xxiv; Allen's Hist. of Chelmsford, pp. 119–126; Savage's Geneal. Dict. — Eds.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

(LAWRENCE BROWNE.*)

WHEREAS abowte 12 moneth synce came forthe a boocke in defence of the orthodoxall doctrine of the church of Englande against Sabbatarian noveltie, whereat many began secretly to murmure, for that it was bytter, & dyd overthrowe the tenents of the church of Englande, in that poynte which none durste publickly oppose, bycawse many defended it so earnestly, at the length, abowte whitsontyde laste, there was scattered abroade a very lytle treatise of 16 leaves, in 4to, entyteled a briefe awnswere to a late treatise of the Sabbath daye, digested dialogue wyse betweene 2 divines, A & B, withowte the name of any awthor.

These 2 divines meetinge & conferringe of this boocke, the one of them thowghte it a verye dangerous boocke to the awthor, if it mighte be well examined before competente judges, bycawse, as he sayeth, it overthroweth the doctryne of the church of Englande, in the poynte of the Sabbathe, for the very tytle is A DEFENSE OF THE ORTHODOXAL DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLANDE AGAYNST

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* The handwriting of this letter is the same with that of the four letters which have preceded it, and is unquestionably that of Robert Ryece. We have preferred to give those bearing his own name first and together; but it will be perceived that this letter, under the assumed name of *Lawrence Browne*, was written a few months earlier than either of the two last of those under his own name. In addition to the evidence of handwriting, it will be observed that the letter preceding the last given makes distinct reference to this one. It says, "I wrotte also vnto you *the* 9 *of September laste*," — which is the exact date of this letter; and adds, "I am styll a bolde petitioner to you to helpe vs to a mappe of your contry as it is now inhabited;" while this letter says, in a marginal postscript, "I praye you remember the plott or mappe of New Englande." We shall see more of this mystery in the three letters which follow this. — EDS.

Sabbatarian Noueltye. Those divine[s] shewe that the boocke is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury,* by whose direction, &, that accordinge to his Majestyes sacred comande, he sett vpon this woork bothe for the preventinge of mischeefe, (as he sayeth in his Epistlle dedicated to the Archbishop) & to setle the Kinges good subiectes, who of longe tyme had byn dystracted abowte Sabbatarian questions. Nexte of all these devynes doe shewe that the awthor can have but smalle thankes for his labor, when as the King, who is the defender of the faythe of the church of Englande, hathe often solomly protested & that in his publicke declarations, in printe, as at the dissolvinge of the parliamente, & declaration before the 39 Articles, THAT HE WYLL NEUER SUFFER THEREIN THE LEASTE INNOUATION. So agayne one of them alledgeth there adversary is a greate scholler, deepely learned, a Reuerende father of the church, his judgemente must be taken for an oracle. Accordinge to that, in a late boocke established by aucthoritie, as the Communion boocke expounded by Reue, page 20, sayeth, that the holy fathers in God, the Bishops, are to be guydes in divinitie, vnto the wholle clargie of inferior order, vnto whose godly judgements in all matters pertayninge to religeon all owghte to submitte them selves, bycawse the fathers in the church now & allwayes doe in the greate mistery of Godlines comprehende, which the common people do not; and some thinges which the ministers of the inferiour order do not apprehende, so that wha[t]soeuer thay delyver muste be beleeved as sownde rewles. And heere the divines take occasion to speake that wee lyve in a learned age, that wee denie the popes infallabyllytie, or that it can convaye it selfe as from the heade, & so confine it selfe within the veines of the body of the prelacye; or that a rochett can confine this grace *ex opere operato*. Then thay saye thay had neede to vin-

* Laud. — Eds.

dicate not only the doctrine of the church of Englande, which is by this boocke cleane overthrowne, but also those calumnious & odious tearmes which he geveth to those whose opinions he impugneth in this treatise, as venemous serpents, noysome tares, pestilente weeds, vncleane beastes & novell Sabbatarians.

Now to shewe how the doctryne of the church of Englande is overthrowne in this poynte of the Sabbath, these divines say that the doctrine of the church of Englande concerninge the Sabbath is moste cleerely sett downe in the boocke of homylyes, vnto which all mynisters do subscribe, & by 39 Articles is comended as whollsome, necessary, &c. Heere the severall places are alledged at large, & then observeth owte of them these conclusions, as 1, That all Christians are bownde in conscience of the 4 comandimente to keepe the Lords day holyly. Secondly, that by force of the 4 comandimente one day in 7 is perpetually to be kepte holy. Thirdly, that the keepinge of the Lords day is grownded vpon & commanded in the 4 comandimente, & so is not of humane institution. fforthely, that the Lords daye is & may be called our Christian Sabbath daye, there fore it is not Jewish, so to call it. 5ly, that this daye is wholly to be spente in holy reste & dutyes of sanctification, & therefore no parte of it owghte to be spente in vayne pleasures and prophane sportes, all which conclusions the adversarye overthroweth by this boocke.

The adversary to this sayeth that this position (to wytt the 4 comandimente is properly & perpetuallye morall; & is for qualytie & obligation equall to the other 9 comandimentes) which for many yeeres hathe reigned in pamphletts, pulpitts, & coventicles, (& is entertayned as an oracle by all suche as eyther openly professe, or do leane to the desciplinarian faction) is destitute of truthe. These woords compared to the homylye ar fownde quite contrarye.

The divine sayeth that the 4 comandimente determynes expressely the tyme & daye for the Sabothe & service of

God. The keepinge of the Lord's day is grownded vpon the equitie of the 4 comandimente. The tyme for this resteth in no mans pover to determyn, but only in God.

The adversary sayeth the particular forme & circumstances of restinge are prescribed vnto vs by the precepts of the church, our spirituall actions are tawghte by the Evangelicall lawe: our modification, limitation in respecte of rytes, forme, place, duration, gesture, habytt &c. are prescribed by the lawe of the church & so page 270. It was in the free election of the church to appoynte what day or dayes or tymes shee thowghte good for religeous dutyes, &c.

The devines saye that the 4 comandimente prescribes a certayne proportion of tyme, & a fixed daye, consecrated by God hym selfe vnto His solemne & sacred woorship, which in that very respecte is perpetually morall. The adversary confesseth naturall equitie in the 4 comandimente, that some tyme is to be sett aparte for the service of God, but lefte to the liberty of the church to determyn & lymytt the speciall tyme when, & how longe, what portion or proportion is to be allowed, whither one day in 20, or 40, or 100, or one day in the yeere, or but one peece of a daye in suche a revolution of tyme, & not one wholle or entyre daye, muche lesse one wholle daye in euery 7. And so page 98, the 4 comandimente in respecte of any one defenite & speciall daye of every weeke, was not symply & perpetually morall but posityve & temporary onlye.

This the divines say is contrary to the homylies, even *in terminis*, which saye by the 4 comandimente wee owghte to have a tyme, as one day in a weeke, &c., & this appurtayneth to the lawe of nature as a thinge moste godly, moste juste, & needefull for the settinge forthe of Gods glory, & therefore owghte to be retayned & kepte of all good Christian people. No, sayeth the adversary, one day in the weeke was but posityve & temporary only.

But the divine, leavinge to presse the adversary any more with auctorytie of the church, observeth these reasons & growndes owte of the woords of the comandimente, Remember the Sabboth daye to keepe it holy, which woords are the very morall substance of the 4 comandimente. The Lord sayeth not, Remember to sanctifye some conveniente & sufficiente tyme, as the church shall thinke fytt. The comandimente prescribeth a certayne & sett tyme, yea a daye, the Sabbath daye, one daye in the weeke, which is the Sabbath daye.

Agayne it teacheth vs what daye in the weeke, the Sabbathe daye is, to wytt, the Sabbothe day of the Lorde thie God. That day in the weeke wherein the Lord our God resteth muste be our Sabbath day: so that as the comandimente prescribes vnto vs a weekely Sabbath daye to be sanctefied: so God's precedente & example poyntes owte vnto vs, what or which daye in the weeke wee muste reste on, to sanctefye it. And this is not only the naturall equitie, but the very naturall lawe & substance of the 4 comandimente, to prescribe a sett solemne day in the weeke; & not to leave it in the power of man or of the church to appoynte what tyme thay please. The reasons ar these. 1, bycawse the comandimente expressely lymiteth one sett daye in the weeke, beinge the Sabbothe day of the Lorde our God. Now the comandimente prescribinge a sett & fixed daye in the weeke, what humane power shall dare to alter it into an indefinite tyme? 2. The seconde reason whie it is not lefte in the power of the church to prescribe what tyme men please, by cawse it is Gods prerogatyve as a maister to appoynte his owne woorship & service, so the tyme wherein he wylbe served. 3 reason is, becawse an indeffenite tyme muste eyther binde to all moments of tyme, as a debtte when the daye of paymente is not expressed is liable to paymente eny momente, or else it bynds to no tyme at all, ffor if the lawe of God binds vs not to an expresse determinate tyme, or daye consecrate to his service:

then the not allowenge hym a sett tyme, or daye, there is no transgression, if a sett tyme or daye be not observed. ffor where no lawe is, there is no transgression. Heere he alledgeth sondry remarkable judgements of suche as have profaned & polluted some parte of the Lords daye within 2 yeeres.

Agayne the divines affirme thay have harde the adversary say in open courte, that a man mighte be iustefyed to daye & condemned to morowe. That there is no sanctification of the Sabbath but reste, reste only. And by cawse the dyvines woolde not be taxed of a pryvate interpretation of the homely as a factious Sabbatarian noveliste, enclined to the disciplinarian faction, he sheweth the judgemente & vnderstandinge of others which do agree in the same interpretation of the doctrine of our church layed downe in the homylie, as Mr. Hooker & Dr. Andrewes, from whose woorkes thay alledge sondry playne places withowte exception, so that thay conclude that the Lords daye is come in place of the olde Sabbathe daye, & so is become our Sabbathe daye, & by necessary consequence grownded vpon the 4 comandimente. And if it be asked *Quo Jure*, by what righte doothe the Lords daye take the place of the Sabbath daye? It is awnswered owte of the Psalme, God made it so; and Christes Resurrection declared it to be so: & the Appostles observed it so; yea & commanded it so too. After thay shewe it was the tenet of the antiente catholicke church which dyd observe it, & call the Lords daye, the Sabbath of the Lorde, which thay kepte in place of the olde Sabbath daye.

And bycawse there is a greate clamor of late for applienge the name of the Sabbothe to the Lords daye, thay proove it may be so called by these reasons. 1. Becawse it is our reste daye. 2. The Appostles calle it our reste, a Sabbatisme. 3. The very name of the Lords daye importes so moche, as beinge the Lords holy daye, as Esay 58: 13: and that day whereon the Lorde rested from the

woorke of his Redemption, & so sanctefied by hym & to hym.

And so thay showe, that in the sayde homyly it is called the Sabbathe daye 10 tymes, in one other homylie 8 tymes, & in a 3 homely 2 tymes; and in King James his proclamation, 7 of May 1603, twyce.

Then thay come to all recreations on the Sabbath daye, which thay proove vnlawefull, by lawes domesticke, by the Imperiall lawes, by the edictes & constitutions of famous princes, comon lawes & cyvill lawes, & by all the reformed churches, thowghe the adversary nullefyes them for no true churches, bycawse thay have no prelates, to putt them in order & governe them, who all calle the Lords daye the Sabbathe daye, for the due sanctification whereof they pleade moste earnestly & zealouslye.

In May laste came forthe a boocke allowed by aucthoritie, & withowte the name of the awthor, entytled A COALE FROM THE ALTAR,* or an awnswere to a lettre not longe synce wrytten to the vicar of Grantham, against the placinge of the communion table at the Easte ende of the chancell, & now of late dispersed abroade to the disturbance of the church. Heere I pray you I vnderstande that the vicar of Grantham was deade 6 years synce, & this supposed lettre is sayde to be wrytten at a leaste 11 yeeres synce by the Bishop of Lyncolne, one not in the favor of these tymes, but labored by his adversaryes to have all disgrace heaped vpon hym; and the author of this COALE FROM THE ALTER is an notable flatterer of the courte, one Dr. Helyn, one that hathe mooche for abrogatinge the olde syncerytie of the Sabbathe.

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* Dr. Heylin's work, entitled "A Coale from the Altar," — published in 1636, in reply to a letter ascribed to Rev. John Cotton, but written by Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, — was answered by Prynne, in an elaborate treatise of 358 pages 4to, under the title of "A Quench Coale;" the address to the reader bearing date July 10, 1636, but printed in the following year. — EDS.

The Dr., at the firste enterance, gathereth that this lettre to the vicar of Grantham shoolde come from a reuerende prelate of this church, which lettre havinge muche discoraged a greate friende of the doctors, who had thowghte to have removed his communion table to the vpper ende of the chancell, vntyll readinge this lettre or epistell he was wholly discorged; vpon the which the doctor wryteth his opinion of this lettre, & awnswereth every parte of it, advisynge his friende to obay the orders now prescribed. Then he gathereth the passages in the epistle for which it is probably beleeved the epistle was wrytten by a reuerende prelate, as from a diocesan to a private parish prieste in his jurisdiction, which when he had made as playne as he coolde, he sayeth that he can not thus beleeve, but rather that this lettre was wrytten by Mr. Cotton of Boston, who meaninge one daye to take sanctuary in New Englande, was wyllinge to doe some greate acte before his goenge, that he mighte be the better wellcome when he came amongest them. And thus he concludeth that this epistle was now spreade abroade of purpose to discowntenance the vniformitie of publicke order, to which the pyetye of these tymes was so muche enclyned, and that this discourse or epistell, which was so muche sowghte after, applawded, & scattered in sondrye coppies, was so of purpose doone, to distracte the common people, & to hinder that good woorke which was now in hande. As towchinge the preamble he had not sayd any thinge, but that there he mett with somewhat, which seemed to cast a scorne vpon the reverence appoynted by the canon vnto the blessed name of Jesus.

Then he discendeth to the 3 particulars wherein the vicar of Grantham desyred to be satisfied, 1, for the havinge of an altar at the vpper ende of his quier. 2, the placinge of the communion table altarwyse. 3, the fixinge of it in the quier, so as it may not be removed into the bodye of the church. He sheweth that the Elders

of the vestrye, & the vestry doctryne of these dayes, were againste this doctryne ; he declared that as the Lord's Supper may be called a Sacrafize, so may the holy table be called an altar, & sett vp in the place where the altar stoodde, he shewed that the martyrs called the Lords Supper a Sacrifice, & many tymes the Sacramentt of the altar. So that there is a Sacrefice, Christes propitiatory Sacrefize, and there is an altar, not the Jewysh altar, vpon which the Jewes were wonte to offer there burnt offeringes, but the table of the Lorde, and there is the Sacramente of the altar, the sacramente of the body & bloodde of Christe.

He sheweth that the papistes calles the communion table, sett in the myddest of the channcell an oyster boorde or oyster table, & when this table is fixed in the wall, the Puritane and Mr. Prinne calleth the communion table a dresser bourde, he expecteth that this trymme episteler wyll shortly contrary hym ; & for the latter parte of dyvine service, called the seconde service, he sayeth there muste be some spare tyme for the mynister to goe from the readinge pewe, & the Lordes table, there muste be some tyme reasonable betweene morninge prayer & the comunion, yea he affirmeth the wholle frame & fashion of divine service had byn longe synce cleane loste in Englande, had it not byn kepte & preserved in the Kings chappell, & cathedrall churches.

He calleth hym an extravagante episteler; by this you may see of what strayne the episteler is, for the Lorde[s] table was awntiently called an altar. In Kinge Edwards raigne the comon people tooke the Lordes table sett altar wyse for a dresser, thowghe Bishop Jewell sayeth that the holy table was called an altar, only in allusion of the altars of the olde lawe.

He concludeth that the vicar of Grantham might safely holde his 3 conclusions. 1, that an alter maye be vsed in the Christian church. 2, that the communion tablie may stande alterwyse, the mynister officiatinge at the northe

ende thereof. 3, That the table may stande constantly in the vpper parte of the channcell, close alonge the walle, both in the fyrste or seconde service.

Laste of all, he alledgeth that in a case of St. Gregoryes church nexte St Pauls, London, his sacred majestie hathe declared his pleasure, that all Metropolitanes, Bishops, & Ordinaryes shall require, in all the churches commytted to there charges, that the communion tables be placed altarwyse, and this, he sayeth, he faythefully coppied owte of the registers of his cowncell table.

And further sayeth that the communion table is to be placed altarwyse, at the vpper ende of the channcell, in such manner as it standeth in the Kings Chappell, & in all colledgiate & cathedrall churches, the moother churches, (as consonante to the practise of approved antiquitie), by which all other churches dependinge therevpon owghte to be guyded & governed.

I muste nowe entreate you to goe backe agayne to calle to mynde our Episcopall visitation in lente laste, as you have harde, the strictest that euer was; so many good men suspended & removed for not conformitie to the new orders, amonge which, a lytle before harvest, Mr. Stansby was deprived; thay enquire, whither the surplyce hathe byn woorne & the syne of the † vsed at euery tyme the Sacramente is administred, whither the Sacramente of the Supper byn admynistred to any, not syttinge, standinge, or leaning vnreverently, but humbly kneelinge vpon there knees in playne & open viewe, withowte collusion & hipocresye. Doothe the communion table stande at the easte ende of the chancell, where the alter in former tymes stoodde? Doothe euery one vse lowly reverence at the name of Jesus? Dothe euery one stande vp at the Ghospell? Doothe all the people stande vp & say Glory be to the Father, at the ende of euery psalme readinge? To beginne the mariadge, in the mariadge, in the body of the church,

& then to goe to the communion table: at every mariadge to have a comunion; to kneele at all the collectes, at the buriall & the comunion: the women to be churched with there vayles, which is begunne in the body of the church & then fynished at the communion table. No mynister or lecturer but muste fyrste in his whoodd & surplyce reade all the devine service what so euer, before the sermon, & then, goenge into the pulpitt, he muste saye his sermon (for the woorde preache is obsolete); at the ende he muste goe to the hie altar, there to saye the seconde service & to fynishe all. Is there any vestry meetinges, who doe secretly hinder the peace of the church?

By this breviate heere formerly abstracted you may see how the Lords day is kepte heere. Maysters of famylies complayne exceedingly thay cannot contayne there servantes from excursions into all prophane sportes & pastimes on the Lords daye; wee haue judgements daylye vpon suche occasions, but no man regardeth them. It hathe byn well observed this laste springe heere was very whotte & drye, euen in seede tyme, & so contynewed of longe tyme, that the grasse was so burned vp, that at our vzuall hay seele* wee had lytle or no grasse to cutt, or to feede our catle; at laste God sente vs rayne, but it was so immoderate & vehimente, even in our harvest, with suche stronge blastes & stormes, layenge moste of the corne flatte vpon the grownde, that not halfe of the corne which came vp coolde be reaped, & that which was reaped is so growne, that many feare but doe not knowe what maye heereof prove & ensewe. The plague & infection is come to 536 this laste weeke at London. The Kinge hathe byn very carefull to prevente the infection from dispersenge, for which cawse he adiourned parte of laste Trynitie tearme, as from the seconde retorne, called *octavis trinitatis*, vntill *tres tri-*

* Haysel, the time of hay-harvest. Hay-sale. *Moor's Suffolk Words and Phrases.* — Eds.

nitatis then nexte followenge, at Cambrydge no publicke Commencemente, no Barthollmew fayer at London, or our Lady fayer in Sowthewoorke, no Styrbrydge fayer, no Ely fayer &c. In all these calamyties wee never wente to God publickly, by fastinge & prayer, which was deemed as hatefull as conventicles, the frute of the vestry elders, there vestry doctryne, & the disciplinarian faction; yett at the lengthe, vpon the private prayers & fastes of many of Gods deere servants, it pleased the Lorde to sende suche an abundante frutefull Mihellmas sprynge, to the full supply of what so euer was wantynge in our Soommer springe, that for grasse, haye, & pasture euery one hathe an aboundante store & supplie. I woolde I coolde wryte vnto you of any lectures contynewed: our hie contempte of the woorde when wee had it abondantly, hathe begoonne this presente famyne, which is feared wyll styll encrease. I haue no more roome, so that I cannot now goe any farther, only I woolde entreate you remember vs in your prayers. And so after the true contynewance of our beste affection & respecte vnto you, wee desyre the Allmighty styll to preserve you with all yours.

Yours euery wayes as I shoolde be or woolde be

LAWRENCE BROWNE.

9 SEPTEMBER, 1636.

I praye you remember the plott or mappe of New Englande.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

(THOMAS SMYTHE.* A.)

MOSTE DEERE & CHRISTIAN FFRIENDE, — To satisfie your expectation, & myne owne dewe respecte, (wherein I woolde be loathe to be any wayes defectyve) I praye you to vnderstande that our Allminake makers, blasted some 2 yeeres synce with Jupiters Thunderbolte for beinge to curious in there predictions, have ever synce sylently lefte all presages to the evente of eury season; yett have many noted sondry strange alterations this laste yeere now paste. The Springe was very hotte & drye, burninge vp the grasse, the harveste very wette & dropping, & so the weather followinge very variable, which bredde a sore plague bothe at London & in sondrye other places, by reason whereof mydsommer tearme was in parte cutte of, and so was Michelmas tearme for the moste parte cutte of. This Sommer the King wente in progresse, as I thinke, into Shropshiere,

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* There are three letters with this signature. The name of Thomas Smythe is familiar as that of the old Treasurer and Governor, for twelve years, of the Virginia Company; but he is believed to have died some years before the date of these letters, which, like the last, are all in the unmistakable handwriting of Robert Ryece. The first of these letters contains general information and remark in Ryece's peculiar vein; the second gives a manuscript copy of Prynne's "Newes from Ipswich;" and the third communicates some of the "particular orders, directions, and remembrances" of that Bishop of Norwich whom Prynne had satirized. The danger of being discovered in writing such letters in those days of civil and religious persecution, and particularly of being detected in giving circulation to any thing of Prynne's (then a prisoner in the Tower, with his ears at least once cropped), will account sufficiently for the assumed name under which the letters were written. They are dated but a few days apart from each other, and doubtless came over by the same ship. Gov. Winthrop has indorsed on the last of the three, in which the others would seem to have been enclosed, "Mr. S: his A: B: C:" and these letters of the alphabet are affixed to the signatures, respectively, by the writer himself. On another part of the back of the same letter, Gov. Winthrop has also written, "*Mr. R:* Answ:" — EDS.

where the King was exceedinge angry for his badde entertaynemente. The Sheerefe had but 10 men, & never a gentleman with hym, but euery gentleman was from his howse, & in all places where the King shoolde lodge, the goodman gone, none at home but the wyfe, with abondance of all sortes of victualls & servants. Heere formerly was Benevolences & Shipmony denyed, which some construed was the cawse of euery mans generall absence. Duringe this progresse there was one Bumpsted, sometymes a tayler of Mellforde, then followenge the Lorde Savadge, & synce followenge a knighte who maried the lords dawghter, was observed to followe the courte, & there apprehended for dyvers evill woords & purposes to the King: he was comitted to the Tower, where he yett resteth.

This Summer the Bishop of Norwiche, by his deputyes, made as stricte a visitation in that Diocesse, as euer was seene before; all the weekely lectures putte downe, with sermons in the afternone on the Lord's daye, many mynisters sylenced, suspended, & putt from there places for not conformytie & readinge the Kings boocke* for liberty & recreation on the Lords daye. Our Littargie now devyded into 2 partes, the one to be readde in the readinge deske, in the other, called the seconde service, to be reade in the chancell, at the communion table, placed now at the easte ende of the chancell, nexte the wall, northe & sowthe. Euery preacher to say all the service fully, with the seconde service at hie altar, before he goeth into the pulpytt, & there to vse no prayer, but to end all at the hie alter. Yf there be a communion, euery communicante is to kneele at the rayle now sett vp in euery chancell before the hie alter. After the comunion euery one offereth his devotion or oblation, with all humble inclyninge reverence to the mynister at the hye altar. Every wooman in her vayle goeth to the rayle, there

* King James I.'s "Declaration concerning Lawful Sports to be used," published in 1618, and now required by Laud to be observed by the clergy. — Eds.

to be churched. Euery mariadge is there with all solemnitie fynished. No man is to passe by this alter withoute crowchinge & humble obeysance. And to what ende is all this service & devotion so many wayes performed heere at this altar, but only to drawe veneration & addoration of that invisible power vnto which it is referred? Ffrom the communion tables they are in many places come to erecte curious altars, which they adorne with sylke & embrodered carpetts, in some places with lightes, in other places with crucifixes, etc. Whiles these thinges were a setlinge, & religion in euery place wente downe, the Bishop came to Ipswiche to lye there at a howse of his wyves, but the mariners & inferior vulgar, impatiente to haue there mynisters & religeon dysplased, gave sondry rude affrontes to the Bishop & his followers, which cawsed hym all on a sooddayne, as afrayde, on his owne condition to leave Ipswiche, and to take a howse almoste halfe way betweene Ipswiche & Bury, at Tostocke, whither he had dayly intelligence of all thinges befallen; but this place beinge farre from the courte, he removed agayne, & wente to Wyndsore & those partes, to bee neere the courte. Soone after sondry petytions & complayntes of suspended & depryved mynisters to aucthoritie, but withowte all redresse that I coolde euer heere, and at the Courte of Comperts* or Corrections, all severitie & extremitie vsed. One accidente which I credibly hard, I can not omytte; — while the Bishop his chancelor, Dr. Corbett, was vpon his seate of justice at Bury, newes was browghte hym that Mr. Rogers of Dedham dyed the laste nighte.† Is he so? sayd the chancelor, let him goe in reste, for he hathe troobled all the contry these 30 yeeres, & dyd poyson all those partes for x myle rounde abowte that place, — the manner of whose death is thus reported; whiles the Bishop was at Ipswiche, one

* *Compertorium*, a judicial inquest made to find out or relate the truth of a cause. — *Bailey's Dictionary*. — Eds.

† Rev. John Rogers of Dedham died Oct. 8, 1636. — Eds.

daye, havinge occasion to ryde forthe, comanded his servantes to hyer poste horses; who browght hym worde that all the horses were taken vp, by suche as wente to the sermon at Dedham. Is the wynde at that doore? sayde the Bishop, I wyll soone ease that: & so not longe after, as the Commissary synce confessed, he had commande from Canterbury vpon the complaynte of Norwich to stay the lecture at Dedham: wherevpon the Commissary wrotte a friendely letter to Mr. Rogers, shewenge hym he had commandemente from Canterbury to require hym to stay his lecture now for a whiles the plague continewed, which by suche concourses was daylie encreased. Mr. Rogers, beleevinge, as was pretended, stayed his lecture, & after harvest ended, the Doctor & Comissary was moved for renewene of the lecture; the Comissary gave fayer woordes, promysynge very shortely thay shoolde haue liberty, which after sondry promyses, withowte all in all intention, Mr. Rogers seinge there was a secrett determination wholly to suppresse that lecture, this strooke hym to the harte, hastened all his naturall malladies to his vttermost periode. It may be you may thinke I am some what teadious, yett bycawse you may deeme I owe you many letres, & wrytinge but once in a yeere, albeit you have farre better relations from others, yett you are contente to beare with mee; and therevpon I muste further shewe you what further occurred this yeere, as sondry libells secretly scattered this yeere, but grownded vpon the presente state of thinges, whereof I wyll geve you only the tytles & ffrontespices, by which you maye iudge what they conteyne. As, —— Certayne Questions propownded to Archbishops, Bishops, Arche deacons & Comyssaryes, Chawncellers, Officialls, & other awdacious vsurpers vpon his majesties royall prerogatyve, lawes, & his loyall subiectes lawfull liberties; woorthie there awnswere & all mens knowledge. — Item, Certayne Queres propownded to the Bowers to the names of Jesus, & to the patrons thereof,

wherein the aucthorities & reasons alledged by Bishop Andrewes & his followers in defense of this ceremony are breefely examined & refuted; the mistranslation of Phil: 2. 10. 11. cleered, & that texte with others acquited bothe from commandinge or awthorizinge this novell ceremony, heere geven to be vnlawfull in sondry respectes. The 4 edition corrected, 1636. — The Vnbishopinge of Tymothie & Tytus, or a briefe elaborate Discourse, provinge Tymothie to be no Bishop (muche lesse any sole or dyocesan Byshop) of Ephesus, nor Tytus of Creete, & that the power of Ordination, or imposition of hands belonges *Jure diuino* to Presbiters as well as to Bishopps, and not to Bishopps only. Wherein all obiections & pretenses to the contrary are fully awnswered, & the pretended superioritie of Bishopps over mynisters & presbiters, *Jure diuino* (now moche contended for) vtterly subverted, in a moste perspicuous manner, by a well wysher to God's truthe & people. In the yeere 1636. — A breefe awnswere to a late treatise of the Sabbath daye, digested dialogue wyse betweene 2 Dyvines, A and B. — A divine tragedy lately acted, or a collection of sondry memorable examples of Gods Iudgements vpon Sabbathe-breakers, & other lyke lybertynes in there vnlawefull sportes, happeninge within the Reallme of Englande in the compasse only of 2 yeeres laste paste, synce the boocke was published; woorthie to be knowne & considered of all men, especially suche who are guyltie of the synne, or arche patrons thereof. Anno 1636. In the ende of which collection is inserted the history of Mr. Prynne pursewed by Mr. Noy, a greate favourer of Sabbathe recreations & pollutions, in this manner. Mr. William Noye, the greate Gamaliell of the lawe, the Kings attornye generall, as he had a greate hande in compilinge & republishinge the late declaration for pastimes on the Lords daye (thruste owte by hys, & a greate prelates practice, to thwarte Judge Richardson's good order for suppressinge of wakes & revells in Somersetshiere, & the

Justices of that Shires petition to his majestye for the contynewance of it, & to make waye for a Starrechamber cawse against Mr. Prinne), he so eagerly persecuted this Mr. Prinne, of his owne profession & societye (to whom he was formerly a friende in apparance, but an inveterate enemye in trewthe) for his Histrio mastix,* compiled only owte of the woordes & sentences of other approoved awthors of all sortes, againste the vse & exercyse of stage playes, maypoles, wakes, lascivious mixed dawncinge, & other Ethenicke pastimes, condemned in all ages, withowte any thowght or suspicion of gevinge the leaste offence, eyther to the Kings moste excellente majesty, the Queene, or State, as he averred in his awnswere vpon his oathe. And althowghe this boocke was written 4 yeeres, licensed allmoste three, printed fully off a quarter of a yeere, & published 6 weekes before the Queenes Majesties pastorall, against which it was falsely voyced to have byn principally wrytten; dilligently perused & lycensed by Mr. Thomas Buckner, the then Archbishop of Canterbury his chaplyn, bothe before & after it came from the presse, entered into the Stationers' Hall, vnder the warden's hande, printed, published in 3 aucthorised printing howses, withowte the leaste controwle; & published by the sayd licensers direction, who woolde haue nothinge newe printed in it, as appered vpon oathe at the hearinge; and althowgh Mr. Noye hymselfe (to whom he presented one of the boocks) vpon the firste readinge of it, commended it, thanked him for it, ofte affirmed, that he sawe no hurte in it; & at the hearinge confessed, that the worste & moste dangerous phrase & passage in it, mighte haue a good & fayer construction, & schollars woolde all take it in a good sence; yett he handled the matter so (by suppressinge the gentlemans exhibitts & defense, wrestinge his woordes

* Prynne says this book was published "about Christide, 1632;" but the imprint bears date 1633. New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, &c., p. 7. — Eds.

and meaninge, refucinge to discover the particulars of his boocke, on which he woolde insyste, thowghe ordered so to doe by the Courte, it beinge also impossible to instructe Cownsell how to make a replye, & by tamperinge vnder hande with some of his cownsell, by no meanes to make any justification or defence to cleere his innocencye: thowghe the partie earnestly entreated, & gave them instructions to the contrarye) that the poore gentleman receved censure at laste to be expelled owte of the vniversytie of Oxforde, & Lyncollns Inne, thruste from his profession, in which he never offended, ffyned 5000*li*, to stande in 2 severall pylleryes, & there to loose bothe hys eares, his boockes to be there burned before hym, & to suffer imprisonmente duringe hys lyfe besydes; which sentence* thowghte by moste that harde the cawse to be meante only *in terrorem*, withowte any intention at all of execution, beinge respited for above 3 monethes space, & in a manner remitted by the Queene['s] moste gracious mediation, was yet by this attornyes & a greate prelates importunitie, beyonde all expectation, sooddenly & severelye executed, withowte any, the leaste mittigation, fewe of the lords so moche as knowenge of it. The gentleman heerevpon is sett vpon the pyllory at Westminster, & there he lost an eare. Mr. Noye, lyke a ioyfull spectator, lawghes at his sufferinge, & this his greate exploite he had browghte to passe, which diverse there presente observed & condemned in hym. The gentleman, lyke a harmeles lambe, takes all with suche patience, that he not so moche as once opened his mowthe to lett falle any woorde of discontente. Yett the Juste God & Sovereigne Lorde of heaven and earthe, who beholdeth mischeefe & spighte, to requite it with his hande, & avengeth the innocente bloodde of his servants, tooke this his myrthe & mallyce so heynously, that the

* Prynne was sentenced 17 Feb. 1633–4, and the sentence was carried into execution on the 7th and 10th of May following. New Discovery, &c., pp. 10, 11. — Eds.

same daye (as some abowte hym, & of his owne societye reported), he who thus shedd his brothers & companions bloodde, by the juste hande of God, fell a voydinge & pyssinge owte his owne: which so amazed hym, that he vsed all the meanes he coolde, to smother it from the woorlde, charginge his lawndresse & those abowte hym not to speake of it, refucinge to acquaynte his phisitians with it. Heerevpon he growes very pallide, & ill; the Phisitians wonder at it; he complaynes to them of the gravell & stone in his kydneyes, tyll at laste he grewe so yll with this dyvine stroke, that he was forced to disclose his greefe to them, yett so as thay muste faythefully promyse to disclose it to no man, for feare the people shoolde saye it were a juste judgment of God on hym for sheddinge Mr. Prinnes bloodde. But God woolde not have this secrett longe concealed; his lawndresse, men, and some gentlemen of his societye discover & talke of it: he, mooche vexed in mynde, insteade of repentinge what he had doone, & seekinge to righte the partie wronged for his irreparable damage, lyke a harte or beaste once mortally wounded, proceeds on in his former furye; seekes to bringe the poore distressed gentleman into freshe trooble, & a further censure, bringes hym *ore tenus* into the Starre chamber, reviles hym with all manner of vncivil woords, mooves to have hym close prysoner amonge the rogues in Newgate, sells his chamber, as forfeited to the howse by his expulsion, seiseth his boocks, & when the courte woolde not grawnte his vnreasonable malicious motion, above 5 weekes after, in the longe vacation, when most of the lords were gone, & his Majestye in his progresse, drawes vp an order of his owne makinge in the Starre chamber, for the gentleman's close imprisonmente (the laste order he ever made), cawsed the Register to enter it, & sends it to the Tower to be executed. The same daye, he wente to Tunbridge waters, with owte the lords or Courts pryvitie. The daye followenge, drinkinge of those waters, he was in

myserable torture, in so moche that moste dispayred of his lyfe, & some reported he was deade; & hearinge there that his disease of voydinge bloodde was then publickly knowne, & talked of in London, he was so vexed at it, that he felle owte with hys phisitians & servants, raylinge on them lyke a ffranticke man, as if they had betrayed hym, & disclosed his secretts; yea it so fretted & gnawed his harte & conscience, that it made his very harte & entrayles to perishe, & abowght a fortnighte after browghte hym to his ende. Beinge opened after his deathe, there was not a droppe of bloodde fownde in his bodye, for he had voyded owte all before, his falice, malicious, hard harte with inwarde frettinge & vexinge was so consumed & shrinked vp, that it was lyke an olde rotten leather purse, or meere scurffe. The phisitians never seinge the lyke before, his fleshe & kydnes were as blacke as a hatte, his entrayles (excepte his lunges only) all putrid, & his carkase as a miserable spectacle, but no stone that coolde trooble hym was founde abowte hym. His ffunerall, accordinge to his desyre, was so pryvate, that there were hardlye gentlemen enowghe to carry hym to hys grave, but that some came in by accidente. Hys clyents, the players, for whom he had doone knightes service, to requite his kyndnes, the nexte tearme followenge make hym the subiecte of a merry Comedye, styled A PROIECTOR LATELY DEADE, wherein they bringe hym in his lawiers robes vpon the stage, & openlye dissectinge hym, fynde a 100 proclamations in his heade, a bundle of olde moathe eaten records in his mawe, & halfe a barrell of newe white sope in his belly, which made hym to skoore so muche, & yett say thay, he is styll very blacke & fowle within. And as if this voydinge of all his owne bloodde, & publicke disgrace on the stage were not sufficiente to expiate the wronged gentleman's bloodde & infamye, hym selfe in his laste wyll, layes a brande on his owne soonne & heire: bequeathinge all his goods & lands, not therein given to others, to Edwarde his

eldeste soonne, to be scattered & spent: *nec de eo melius speraui:* * enowghe to make dutyfull childe turne vnthrifte; & a signe of a dispairinge man: which soonne of his, vpon his owne challenge & rashenes, hath byn synce slayne in a duell † in France, by Captayn Byron, who escaped scott free, & had his pardon. Thus hathe God ponished bloodd with bloodde, thus hath he dealt with one of the cheefe occasioners of this declaration, & burner of that boocke, which learnedly manifested the vnlawfullnes of the seuerall sportes & pastimes cowntenanced in it, especially on the Lords owne sacred daye, owte of olde & new wryters of all sortes, & specifyed dyvers judgements of God vpon the awthers, acters & spectators of them, not vnwoorthy consideration in these sable tymes of plagues & judgements.

There is yett one libell more, which vntyll better advyce, shall sende it you; that you may the better judge what it dyd speake of, I sende you heere also the tytle, or prefixed frontispice of that treatice, entytled NEWES FROM IPSWICH, discoveringe certayne late detestable practises of some domineeringe Lordly Prelats, to vndermyne the established doctrine & discipline of our Church: extirpate all Orthodoxall sincere preachers & preachinge of Gods woorde, vsher in Popery, Superstition & Idollatrye, with there late notorious purgations of the new ffaste boock, contrary to his majesties proclamation, and there intollerable affronte therein offered to the moste Illustruous Lady Elizabeth, the Kyngs only syster, & hir children, (even whiles they are nowe Royally entertayned at Courte) in blottinge them owte of the Collectes: and to his Majestye hym selfe, his Queene,

* The will of Attorney-General Noy, which is dated June 3, 1634, contains the following clause: "All the rest of my estate I leave to my son Edward (who is executor to this my will), to be squandered as he shall think fit. I leave it to him for that purpose, and I hope no better from him." William Noy died Aug. 9, 1634. — EDS.

† Steele, in the "Tatler" (No. 9), relates that this "generous disdain, and reflection upon how little he deserved from so excellent a father, reformed the young man." It appears, however, that no such effect followed, and that he was killed in a duel, within two years after his father's death, as stated in this letter. — EDS.

& there Royall progenye, in dashenge them owte of the nomber of Gods electe. Edition 3: Printed at Ipswich, An: 1636.*

Vpon the 27 of December laste came the Erle of Arondell & Surrey home from his Ambassage to the Emperor Fferdinande the 2, & to the princes of Germany. He tooke his journy abowte the beginnynge of Aprill, and was sente from our King as Ambassador extraordinary vnto the Emperor, abowte the restitution of the Pallatinate, as it was sayd, but in vayne. He had a longe and difficulte journy, yett entertayned in eury place very respectyvely, especially at Prague in Bohemia, where an Iryshe man recter of the colledge of Jesuites. There our Ambassador was intertayned with a Comedye in this sorte. Mercurie's servante as the prologue employed abowte makinge redy of the Theatre for the assembly of all the Gods and Goddesses (there to be presente, for the receyvinge of the Ambassador) falls vpon lytle children, who woolde fayne see the Ambassador of the King of England: he tells them they cannot see hym in the Theatre, vnlesse they wyll congratulate his comynge, whom by reason of there yonge yeeres thay can not salute in Latyne, but they may performe it in there owne naturall language, which was agreed vpon. And so the Gods & Goddesses enteringe, Mercury receyves them & places euery one accordingely. Then comes in Astrea, complaynes to Jupiter & the reste of the Gods, of the wickednes of the woorlde. Jupiter havinge harde all, delyvers the woorlde to be ponished by Mars & Vulcane. Here Peace, all forlorne, seekes vp & downe whar to have a place to be secured from the fury of Mars. Neptune carries Peace over into Englande in a sea shell. Then Mars devides the globe of the earthe into dyvers partes, & distributes them to the fury of Bellona & other agents. Heare Ceres, Apollo, &

* The "libells," of which the titles are given in this letter, are all ascribed to Prynne; and, with a single exception, are enumerated in the list of his works given by Wood. See Athenæ Oxonienses, third edition, iii. 856. — Eds.

Bacchus complayne before Jupiter of the infinite calamytie which thay endure from Mars: Jupiter sends them to Neptune: Neptune tells them, that he hathe comytted the Imperiall Governmente of the Sea, to Charles, Kinge of Greate Brittayne, and that thay muste make sewte to hym to restore peace to the woorlde. Mercury byds Ceres and Apollo to be of good cheere, & wylls them not to dowbte but that King Charles wyll shortly, by his Ambassador, Howarde, Earl of Arondell, reduce peace. Peace affirmeth that shee shalbe restored to hir former habitations, thay doe all gratulate one another, & geve there acclamation to Howard, to whom thay do wyshe & presage all happiness, etc.

Sir, this supplimente I have added, but for a lytle refreshenge, vpon the which many do dyversly opyne. Heerevpon Charles Lodovike, Cownte Pallatyne of the Rhene publisheth his protestation againste all the vnlawfull & violente proceedinges against hym & his brotheren, particularlye againste the secrett & invalide dispocetions & decrees of the Emperor, in the translation of the Electorall dignitie & dominions vpon the Duke of Bavaria: the vnlawfull and vayne election of a Kynge of the Romaynes, where his highnes & the Ellector of Tryers were excluded: and lastly againste the vyolente & vniust vsurpation & possession of the Electorall dignitie, tytle, voyce & session, by the Duke of Bavaria. What this in tyme wyll effecte, tys only tyme wyll relate. And so sceasinge further at this tyme, remembringe my selfe moste respectyvely vnto you, I leave you with all yours to the safe protection of the Allmightie, and do reste

Yours allwayes in all true & synceare affection.

THOMAS SMYTHE.

This firste day of MARCHE, 1636. A

If these lettres come to your hands, as I hope they shall, and to which ende I wrotte them, I pray you advertise mee of the receipte & date thereof.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Rec. the 22: of June."

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

(THOMAS SMYTHE. B.)

NEWES FROM IPSWICHE.*

CHRISTIAN Reader, this is the deplorable newes of our presente age, that our presses, formerlye open only to truthe & pietye, are closed vp againste them bothe of late, & patente for the moste parte, to nowghte but error, superstition & prophannes. Wytnes those[a] many prophane, erronious, impious boockes, printed within these 3 yeeres, by aucthoritie (poynte blanke againste the established doctrine of the church of Englande, & his Majestyes pious[b] declarations) in defense of Arminianisme, Popery & popishe ceremonies: & which is yet more impious & detestable, ageynste[c] the very morallitie of the sabbath & forthe Commandimente: the divine institution, title, & entire religious sanctification of the Lord's daye sabbath, & the necessitie of frequent preachinge, (exceedeingly

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* This is believed to be an exact copy of Prynne's "Newes from Ipswiche;" though we have in vain sought for a printed copy of that production, with a view to comparison. It was said to have been written as "a satire upon the severe proceedings of the Bishop of Norwich." The bishop's name was Matthew Wren: hence the satire is signed *Matthew White*. In the anonymous letter which immediately follows the A: B: C: in this volume, the writer, referring to the "Newse from Ipswitch" as just published, says of its author, "He pretends the name of Matthew White, & the newse to be sent from Ipswitch, which is noe better than lying, & pretends in the frontispice a third edition &c." Possibly there was never more than one edition, and that was suppressed as soon as possible. Printed copies must have been scarce, or Robert Ryece would hardly have taken the pains to copy it with his own hand. — EDS.

a Shelford's S. Treatises; Rheeves Communion Boocke; Chatechisme expownded; Chouneus Collect; A Cole from the Altar; The Female Glorye, Studlye; Dr. Lawrence & Brownes Sermons, with others; Apparatus ad Histo: Eeclesiast:

b Before the 39 articles, & concerninge the Parliaments dissolution, P. 20, 21, 22, 42.

c The Treatise, Historie, Doctrine, and Discowrce of the Sabbath. A sovereine Antidote. Dr. Primerose, Rheeve, Shelford, & Powell in the lyfe of Kinge J.

pressed in our[d] Homilies, & booke of[e] Ordination) which some of our vnpreachinge, domineeringe, secular Prelats (owte of there Arche-piety towards God, & Arche-charitie towarde the peoples sowles, which thay seeke to murther,) now so farre deteste, that thay not only geve over preachinge them selves, as no parte of there function; & suppresse moste weeke day lectures in divers contries; but have lyke wyse lately shutt vp the mowthes of sondry of our moste godly, powerfull, paynfull preachers,[f] (who haue woonne more sowles to God in a yeere, then all the Lord Bishopps in Englande, or the woorlde, haue done in divers ages) owte of meere malyce to Religeon, & the peoples salvation; contrary to the very lawes of God & the Realme; & strictlye prohibited, vnder paine of suspension, in sondry diocesse, all afternoones sermons on the Lords owne daye; that so the prophane vulgar mighte haue more tyme, to dance, playe, revell, drinke, & prophane Gods Sabothes, even in these dayes of plague & pestilence,[g] to drawe downe more plagues & judgements on vs, for this synne of Sabbathe breakinge, when as not only the[h] Synode of Dorte, but[i] sondry popish Synods & Bishops have byn so religious, as to prescribe 2 sermons euery Lords daye at leaste, in eury parish church, to keepe the people from suche prophanations of this sacred daye. Alas what coolde[k] Belzebub the prince of devills, had he byn an Archbishop or lordly prelate heere in Englande, (as there were many Divells Bishopps, at least, Bishops Dyvills, in[l] Barnards age, & moste feare there are to many nowe,) have

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d Preface to them of the righte vse of the Church.

e Exhortation to those that are to be made ministers.

f Bishop Latimer's 2, 4, 5, 6 Sermons before K. Edwarde, & his Sermon on the Plowgh.

g Neh. 13, 17, 18. Leuit: 26, 46 to 55. Jere. 17, 17. Ezech. 20, 13 to 22. The faste boocke, 1. Jacobi & Caroli, & the examples of Gods Judgements vpon Sabbath breakers.

h Sessio 14.

i Apud Bochel. Decreta Eccles: Gal. l. 1. Tit. 3, c. 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 37, 52, & l: 4: Tit. 7, c. 26.

k Math. 12, 24.

l Sermo 33 in Cant. et in Concil: Rhemense.

doone more against the stricte intire sanctification of the Christian Sabbathe day to[m] make it the devills daye in steade of the Lorde's daye, & to advance his owne kingdome & service on it; or against the frequente powerfull preachers, & preachinge of Gods woorde, & salvation of the peoples sowles, then some Luciferian Lord Bishops have lately done? Whose impietie in this kinde transcends all precedents what so ever in former ages. And yet these prophane atheisticall graceles persecutors of all holines, piety, sinceritie, godly mynisters, and preachinge of God's woorde (yea in these pestilentiall times, as meanes to spreade the plague, thowghe the[n] Scripture, &[o] all former ages have prescribed fastinge, preaching, & prayenge, as the chiefe antidotes & cure against it,) will needes bee Lorde Bishops[p] *Jure divino*, by the Holy Ghostes owne institution, (who never yett instituted any[q] vnpreachinge, rare-preachinge prelates, or persecutors & suppressors of preachinge,) and shame not to style themselves, the[r] godly holy fathers of our church, & pillars of our faythe, when as there frutes & actions manifeste them to be nowghte else, but the very step fathers & caterpillars, the very pestes & plagues of bothe. Take but one freshe instance for an example; these desperate Arche-agents for the devill & pope of Roome, and master vnderminers of our Religeon, as thay were the only instruments of delayenge the present generall ffaste, in the beginninge of the pestilence,[s] when it was moste acceptable & requisite; so,

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m Hom. 3. against Rebellion. pag. 293. & of the tyme & place of prayer.

n 2 Chron: 6. 28, 29, 30. cap. 7. 13, 14. Nomb: 25, 6 to 10. Joel, 1. 2. Zeph: 2. 1, 2, 3.

o Se the Faste boocke 1° Jacobi et Caroli.

p Bishop Bancrofte Sermon & Bishop Whites tretise of the Sabothe Daye. Epist: Ded.

q Act. 20, 28. 1 Tim: 3, 2. cha. 4, 11 to 17. 2 Tim. 4, 1 to 5. Tit. 1, 9. c. 2, 1, 10, 13. c. 3, 1 to 12. 1 Pet. 5, 1, 2, 3.

r Bishop White Epist: dedica: to his treatise of the Sabath. Reue Epist: ded: before his exposition of his Chatechisme in the Communion boocke, & P. 2.

s Zeph. 2, 1, 2, 3. Num. 16, 46.

to shewe there inveterate mallyce againste preachinge (*t*the thinge that the devill wrastleth moste againste, all whose stvdy hathe byn, to decaye the office of preachinge, which shoolde not be diminished), thay contrary to his Majesties pious intentions, (who hathe so*u* ofte protested againste all innovations) have cunningly cawsed all Sermons (*x*the very lyfe & sowle of a faste, as beinge the only meanes to humble men for there synns, & bringe them to repentance), to be prohibited on the faste daye, both in London, & its suburbes, & in all other infected places in duringe the tyme of the infection in them: yea, in parishes not infected, (as if preachinge only, of all Gods ordinances were pestilentiall, &c., and that on the ffaste daye, not on others:) contrary to the presedents of all former ages, & that the orders for the generall faste in the 2 laste greate plagues, which prescribed two sermons of 1 hour longe a peece, for none & faste dayes,*y* & that as well in parrishes infected, as others, even in the summer season, when the infection was more contagious & raginge then nowe. By which device thay have not only made this faste distastefull to all* sortes of men in infected places, who have little harte vnto it, robbed the poore of mooche charitable releefe, & depryved the people of the spirituall foode & phisicke of there sowles, when thay neede & desyre it moste, to there intollerable griefe & discontente, but quite suppressed all setled weddensday lectures in London & other infected townes, as longe as the infection shall continewe in any one parishe, thowghe it shoolde laste these 7 yeeres (the thinge thay principally aymed at:) forced

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t BB: [Latimer's] 4 & 6 Sermons before K. Edw: which I woolde our Prelates wooldo now pervse, & his Sermon of the Plowgh.

u Declaration before the 39 Articles, & of the dissolution of the parliamente. P. 21, 42.

x Zeph. 2, 1, 2, 3. Isay. 58, 1 to 8. Jer: 23, 29, c. 36, 6 to 11. Act. 16, 13. Heb. 4, 12, 13. 2 Tim. 2, 25, 26.

y Order 6 for the faste.

* Who stile it a dombe faste & a mocke faste.

many mynisters &* people to flee owte of infected places into the country, to keepe there fastes, where there is preachinge; browght in a[z] famyne of God's woorde, the gretest plague of all others, to the encreasinge & further spreadinge of the presente pestilence, & drawenge downe of Gods wrathe vpon vs to[a] the vttermoste, by inhibitinge ministers in the tyme of gretest neede, to preache vnto the people, that thay maye be saved. O heavens, stande amazed at this vnparalled practise of impious popishe prelates! But is this all? Noe verelye. ffor whereas his Majesty[b] commanded, that the boocke of common prayer for the faste, formerly sett forthe by his aucthoritie vpon the lyke occasion, shoolde be reprinted, these Romish inquisitors haue miserablie gelded it, after it was newe printed, in sondry particulars. ffirste, thay have purged owte the prayer for seazonable weather; one cawse of the shippwracks & tempestuous vnseazonable weather ever sence its publication. Secondly, thay haue dashed[c] the Lady Elizabeth and her children in the olde collect, quite owte of the newe; as thay have expunged bothe them, with our gracious Kinge, Queene, & there children, oute of the catalogue of Gods electe, by blottinge owte this clawse (who arte the Father of Thine electe, & of there seede) owte of the collecte for them, in this & all other new comon prayer boocks, as if thay were all reprobates, & none of the nomber of Gods electe, eyther to a temporall or an eternall crowne. O intollerable impiety, affronte, & horride treason! Thirdly, thay lefte owte this collecte: It had byn beste for vs, etc., in the newe boocke, (thowghe the moste effectuall prayer of all) becawse it magnifies contynewall often preachinge of God's woorde, & the

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* And many to spende the tyme in Alehowses & Tavernes & to neglecte the Church.

z Amos 8, 11, 12.

a 1 Thes: 2. 15, 16. Isay. 30, 9 to 17. 2 Chron: 34, 16.

b See the proclamation.

c The collect for the Queene, &c.

Scriptures, & calls our powerfull preachers God's servants. A signe these prelates have conspired togither lyke so many execrable trayters, to exterpate our frequente powerfull preachers, & contynewall preaching of Gods woorde, (as thay have doone in many places of late) thowgh prescribed by[d] God him selfe &[e] our homelyes. ffourthely, thay haue dashed this remarkable clawse owte of the firste collect: Thow haste delyvered vs from Superstition & Idollatry (twoo grand cawses, bothe of many[f] former, and our presente plagues no dowbte) wherein wee were vtterly drowned, & haste browghte vs into the moste cleere & comfortable lighte of blessed woorde, by which wee are tawghte howe to serve & honor thee, & how to lyve orderly with our neighbours, in truthe & verytie: the reste of the collect remayninge as before. Now what can be the cawse of this strange purgation, but a resolved professed conspiracye of these Romishe prelates, euen now agayne vtterly to drowne vs in* popish superstition & idollatry (which have now drowned vs in Gods Judgements, by there stupendious late encrease amonge vs) & to remove vs owte of the moste cleere & comfortable lighte of God's woorde, by the which wee are tawghte how to serve & honor hym, (the true cawse whie thay now suppresse lectures, preachinge & suspende our powerfullest preachers every wheare,) that so wee may walke on in Romish, hellish darkenes, servinge & honoringe the pope & dyvill insteade of God, & lyve in all disorder with owte truthe or verytye. ffyftely, in the 6 order for the faste, thaye have pared awaye this passage; to avoyde the inconvenience that may growe by the abuse of fastinge, some esteem-

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d 2 Tim: 4, 1 to 5. Luk. 19, 47; c. 21, 37. John 18, 20. Act. 2, 46, 47; c. 5, 42.

e Of the righte vse of the church.

f Numb. 25, 1 to 10; c. 32, 16. Josh: 22, 17. 2 Chro. 21, 13, 14. Psal. 106, 28, 29. Ezech: 5. 11, 12, 17; c. 6. 11, 12; c. 12, 16; c. 14. 3, 19, 21. Amos 4. 4, 10.

* Witnes there alteringe of the Gunne-powder treason boocke, there pleadinge for the Pope & church of Roome, & settinge vp altars, images, crucifixes, & bowenge to them in all Cathedralls & elsewhere, & in there owne chappells.

inge it a meritorious woorke, others a good woorke, & of it selfe acceptable to God, withowte due regarde of the ende; (only to gratefye the papistes, whose[g] doctrine this is, & to place some merytt in this presente faste,) addinge this clawse to it: in places where Sermons are allowed by the proclamation: of purpose to putt downe wednesday lectures, & preachinge in London & other places where any parishe is infected. If these prelats then be thus desperately wicked & popishe, as to take advantage of God's Judgements, to suppresse the preachinge & preachers of his woorde, when it is moste necessary & vsefull, & to cowntenance, justefye & sett vp popery, superstition, idolatry, error, & disorders, (the cheefe cawses of our plagues) even in these dayes of pestilence, & that in the very faste boocke to abuse and[h] mocke God to his face, to dishoner his majestye, & grieve his pious peoples sowles; how transcendently impious & popish wyll thay prove, when God shall staye this plague, yf thay be not now deservedly ponished for these there notorious impieties? And is it not high tyme then for his majestye to hange vp suche arche traytors to our faythe, Christian Religeon, & suche true bred sons to the Roman Antichriste, (ffrom whom Dr. Pocklington bostes thay are lineally discended) & to execute judgemente on them for these strange purgations, & other Romishe innovations, whereat the wholl kingedome cryes shame; which breede a generall feare of a sudden alteration of our Religeon? Certaynly tyll his majestye shall see these purgations rectefyed, superstition & idollatry removed, God's Sabbathes duly sanctefied,[i] the suppressed preachers & * preachinge of Gods woorde restored, & hange vp some of these Romishe prelates & inquisitors

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g Bellarmine de bonis operibus; li. 2, c. 11. Bonauentura Dict. Sal: c. 15.
h Job 13, 9. Gal. 6, 7.
i Sundaye no Sabbath. P: 2 & 44.
* The honor & safty of the kingdome. 2 Cron. 17. 8, 9, 10.

before the Lorde, as the [k] Gibeonites once dyd the 7 sonnes of Sawle, wee can never hope to abate any of Gods plagues, or drawe downe any of his blessinges on vs by [l] suche a faste & faste boocke as this, but augmente his plagues & Judgments more & more, which haue strangely encreased synce this faste begun, contrary to all humane reason & probabillitie: & whereas it moche decreased before; the totall nomber dyenge of the plague the weeke before the faste beinge but 458, & 58 parishes infected, & the very firste weeke of the faste, 838, (treble the nomber the 2 laste greatest plagues) & 67 parishes infected.[m] Cambridge, Norwich, Hampton, Bath, & other eminente places cleere before, beinge lykewyse visited since this faste begunne; a cleare evidence that God is moche offended with these purgations, & the restraynte of preachinge on the faste daye, against which some prelates are so mad, that thay have sylenced & persecuted dyvers mynisters since the faste proclaymed, there beinge now so many suspended in our Norwich dyocesse, only for not yelding to popishe innovations, that in sundry churches, they have neyther prayers, preachinge nor fastinge, which hathe browghte the plague amonge them, & made the people at there wytts endes, many mynisters & people heere havinge lefte the kingedome, & thowsandes more beinge redy to departe the lande, there beinge never suche a persecution or havocke made amonge Gods mynisters, synce Queen Marye's dayes, as a leacherous, prowde, insolente prelate, hathe heere lately made against all lawes of God & man, to the astonishmente of the wholle realme. What then can wee expecte but plagues, tyll suche desperate persecutors be cutt of, & Gods woorde & mynisters restored vnto

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k 2: Sam: 21. Num: 25, 4.

l Isay 58, 3, 4, 5, &c.

m And that the very next weeke after an order there published, that eury scholler shoolde bowe to the altar, & at the name of Jesus, vnder payne of expulsion owte of the universitie, after 2 admonitions; an idolatrous & superstitious order.

there former liberty, by our moste gracious Sovereigne, persecution of God's mynisters & people beinge one cheefe[n] cawse of plagues; wherefore O Englande, Englande, if euer thow wilt be free from pestes & Judgements, take notice of these thie Antichristian prelates desperate practises, innovations, & popish dessignes, to bewayle, oppose, redresse them, with all thie force & power: O all yee Englishe nobles, courtiers, & others, who haue any love or sparke of religeon, pietye, zeale, any tendernes of his majesties honor, or care for the peoples, the Church, or kingdomes safety, yett remaynynge within your generous brestes, putt to your helpinge hands & prayers, to restore our religeon & mynysters now suspended, from the iawes of these devowringe[o] woolves, & tyrannisinge lordly prelats, (raysed from, & fytt only for the donge hill) who make havocke of them bothe. O our moste pious kinge Charles; as thow haste in 2 severall[p] declarations, protested before God to all thie lovinge subiectes, that thow wylt never geve waye, to the licensinge or authorisinge of any thinge whereby ANY INNOUATION IN THE LEASTE DEGREE may creepe into our church, nor ever connive at ANY BACKSLYDYNGE TO POPERYE; and that it is thie hartes desyer to be fownde woorthie of that tytle which thow esteemest the moste glorious in all thie crowne, DEFENDER OF THE FAYTHE: so now beholde these desperate innovations, purgations, & Romish practizes of thie Prelates, in open affronte of these thie declarations; and now or never shewe thie selfe (as wee hope, beleeve, & praye thow wylt) a Prince more woorthie of this glorious tytle, then any of thie royall progenitors, by rootinge all popery, superstition, idollatry, errors, innovations, owte of this Church & kingedome, by

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n Ezech: 28. 23, 24; cap: 38: 28: 22. Ezech. 14, 12. Eusebius Eccles: Historie l: 9; c: 8. Cen: Mag: 3; c. 3: p: 31. 32 Cent. 4, c. 3: p: 156. Henry Holland his spirituall preservatives againste the plague.

o Act. 20, 29.

p Before the 29 Articles, & dissolution of the parliamente, pag. 21, 42.

restoringe the preachinge, the preachers of God's woorde, & puritie of his woorship, & [q] takinge vengeance on these perfidious prelates, who have thus gelded thie faste boocke, (and intende to make an *Index expurgatorius* vpon all other awntiente Englishe wryters, ere thay be reprinted, a thinge considerable,) thus openly abused thie only syster, & hir children now presente with thee; oppressed & greaved thie faythefull subiectes, dishonored thie God, betrayed thie religeon, increased the plague amonge the people, & as moche as in them lyeth, robbed thee bothe of thie Gods & peoples loves, & pulled thie crowne of thie royall heade, to sett it on there owne trayterous ambitious pates, by exercysinge all ecclesiasticall power, yea papall jurisdiction over thie subiectes, in there * owne names & rightes alone; & by tramplinge all thie lawes & subiects liberties lyke copwebs, thie subiectes lyke dogges & dyrte, vnder there tyranicall papall feete. If thow thus [r] execute judgmente on them, restore preachinge, & ease thie people from there intollerable tyrranny, no dowbte this plague shalbe ceassed, & this faste be pleasinge to the Lorde; else he wyll not accepte it, but proceede to plague vs more & more. O blessed Soveraine, that thow dydest but heare the severall cryes & owtecryes of thie people againste these persecutinge prelates in many places, especially in our Norwiche dyocesse, where lytle Pope Regulus † hathe played such *Rex* that he hathe suspended above 60 of our sincerest, paynefullest conformable mynisters, boothe from there office & benefice, so as many of our churches (as the lyke was never synce KINGE JOHN's dayes) are quite shutt vp, and LORDE HAUE MERCY UPON US, may be wrytten

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q Rom. 13, 4; Psall. 101, 8.

* Contrarye to the Statutes of 26 of H: 8, c. 1, 37; H: 8, c. 17; 1 Ed: 6, c. 2, 1; Eliz: c. 1.

r Psal. 106, 30.

† It signifies a lytle kinge, a wren, & lykewyse a serpente called a Basaliske, so called becawse lyke a tyrante he kylleth men with his very sente.

on there doores; the people crye for the breade of there sowles, & there mynisters are prohibited to geve it them: this not only wowndes but breakes there hartes, & makes them quite amazed. O therefore, gracious Sovereigne, helpe now, & heere the petitions, cryes, & teares of thie poore people, & hange vp these Popelinges for these & other there innewmirable oppressions, extortions, innovations & harmes, who suspende, imprison, & ruine others for meere toyes & tryfles, yea for * defendinge thy Royall prerogatyve against there papall vsurpations.

This all the newes I shall now imparte in this Curranto, the nexte weeke, God wyllinge, you shall heare of Mr. Dade his excommunicatinge of FERDINANDO ADAMS, a churche warden in our towne, for not blottinge owte this sentence of Scripture paynted on Mr. Wardes church wall, over his bawdy theevishe Courte: † IT IS WRITTEN, MY HOWSE SHALBE CALLED AN HOWSE OF PRAYER, BUT YEE HAUE IT A DENNE OF THEEUES, which excommunication is of recorde in Starre chamber; of our Byshops commandinge. ‡ WOE IS MEE IF I PREACHE NOT THE GHOSPELL to be wyped owte of Mr. Scotts church, & of the strange proceedinges at Colchester, againste Mr. Samuell Burrowes,§ for inditinge parson Newcoman (for raylinge in the Communion table altarwyse, & cawsinge the communicants to come vp to the rayles to receyve, in a newe vnaccustomed manner, contrary to the Statute of 1 Elizab: ca: 2: & his majesties declarations) which Indightmente the || grand Jury hathe fownde, this laste Michellmas Sessions: but his majesty yett can gett no judgemente. So moche are the Prelates now feared more then God or the kynge, or his

* Witnes Dr. Bastwicks case.

† Matt. 21, 13.

‡ 1. Cor. 9, 16.

§ See Prynne's "Quench Coale," p. 351 *et seq.* — EDS.

|| & some of them pursevanted into the high commission for there labor, in affronte of lawe & justice.

lawes &c. In the meane tymes I shall conclude my newes with the woordes of Patricke Adamson, Archebishop of St. Andrewes, in his 33 publicke recantation in the Synode of Ffyffe, Apryll 8, 1591:* That the office of a diocesan Bishopp hathe no aucthoritie at all to supporte it in the woorde of God; that it is only fownded on the pollitycke devyse of men; that the primacy of the Pope or Antichriste sprunge from it, that it is woorthely to be condemned; & that it hathe byn for 500 yeeres & more the chiefe originall & instrumente of suppressinge the preachinge of Gods woorde in all kingdomes, as all Ecclesiasticall Historians testefie, closinge vp this curranto with the collecte on St. Mathias daye, — Allmighty God, which in the place of the traytor (Byshop †) Judas dydst chuse thie faythefull servante Mathias, to be of the nomber of the 12 Appostles, grawnte that thie church being allwayes preserved from false Appostles, may be ordered & guyded by faythefull & true ‡ Pastors, through Jesus Christe our Lorde. And with the Collecte on St. Peter's daye: Allmighty God, which by thie Soonne Jesus Christe haste geven to thy Appostle St. Peter many excellente guyftes, & commaundest hym earnestly to feede thy fflocke; make (wee beseeche thee) all Bishopps & Pastors § dilligently to preache thy holy woorde, & the people obediently to follow the same, that they may receyve the Crowne of Everlastinge Glory, throwgh Jesus Christe our Lorde. Amen.

From Ipswich, Nouember 12, 1636:

Thine in the Lorde,

Mathew White.‖

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* Patricij Adamsoni palinodiæ p: 55.

† Act: 1, 20.

‡ Not lordly Prelates.

§ Which fewe Byshopps now doe, beinge taken vp with secular offices, imployments & state affares, incompatible with there spirituall callinges.

‖ Wood in his list of Prynne's works (Athenæ Oxonienses, iii. 856), says of this tract, "Printed, as 'tis said, at Ipswich (but false), an. 1636, in one sh. in qu., published under the name of Matthew White, three times in that year, and another time in 1641." — Eds.

The tytle & ffrontespice of this boocke followeth.

NEWES FROM IPSWICH.

DISCOVERINGE certeine late detestable practises of some domineeringe Lordlye Prelats, to vndermyne the established doctrine & discipline of our church, extirpate all Orthodoxe sincere Preachers, & preachinge of Gods woorde, vsher in poperye, superstition & idollatrye, with there late notorious purgations of the newe ffaste boocke, contrary to his majestyes proclamation, & there intollerable affronte therein offered to the moste Illustruous Lady Elizabeth, the Kinges only Syster, & hir Children (even whiles thay are now royally entertayned at Courte) in blottinge them owte of the Collect; and to his majestye hym selfe, his Queene, & there Royall progenye, in dashinge them owte of the nomber of Gods Electe.

For who hathe despised the daye of small things? Zech. 4, 10.

Woe bee vnto the Pastors, that destroye & scatter the sheepe of my pasture sayeth the Lorde. Jer. 23, 1.

Take heede therefore vnto yourselves, & to all the flocke over the which the Holy Ghoste hathe made you Bishops, to feede the Churche of God, which he hathe purchased with his owne bloodde, ffor I knowe this, that after my departinge shall grievious woolves enter in amonge you, not sparinge the fflocke. Act: 20, 28.

If the salte hathe loste his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothinge, neyther fytte for the lande, nor yett for the donge hill, but to bee caste owte, & trodden vnder foote of men. Mat: 5: 13. Luke 14: 34.

Edition 3. Printed at Ipswich, An. 1636.

Sir, I pray you pardon my teadiousnes, comende mee to Mr. Wylson, and so I reste

Yours every wayes in the Lorde,

THOMAS SMYTHE. B.

THIS 7th of Marche, 1636.

ROBERT RYECE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

(THOMAS SMYTHE. C.)

Particular orders, directions & remembrances geven in the dyoces of Norwiche, vpon the primary visitation, of the Reverende father in God, Mathewe, Lorde Byshop of that Sea. 1636.*

(1) FIRSTE, the wholle dyvyne Service be readde (bothe the firste & seconde service) on Sondayes & holly dayes, & lecture dayes, (if they have any): And that the Communion-service, called the seconde service be awdiblye & distinctly redde at the Communion table, vnto the ende of the Nicene creede, before the sermon or homely. Yett so as in verye large churches the mynister maye come neerer to reade the Epistle & Ghospell. And after the Sermon or Homely, the prayer for the wholle estate of Christe's church: & one or more of the appoynted collectes, at the Communion table lykewyse; & after to dismisse the congregation with the PEACE OF GOD THAT PASSETH, &c:

(2) That the prayer before the sermon or homelye be exactely accordinge to the 55th Canon, (*mutatis mutandis*:) only to moove the people, to praye as there prescribed, & not otherwyse, vnlesse the mynister desyer, to enterpose the names of the 2 vniversities & of a patron. And no prayer to be vsed in the pulpitt after sermon, but the sermon to be concluded with GLORY TO THE FATHER, &c: & so to come downe owte of the pullpytt.

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* This can hardly be the production of the Bishop of Norwich which provoked the satire of Prynne. Neal, in his "History of the Puritans" (vol. ii. p. 298), speaks of another publication of Bishop Wren, which is more likely to have excited ridicule. "Several of the bishops" (he says) "published their primary articles of visitation about this time; . . . but the most remarkable and curious were Dr. Wren's, Bishop of Norwich, entitled '*Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Norwich, in the first Visitation of* Matthew, *Lord Bishop of Norwich.*' The book contains one hundred and thirty-nine articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, &c." The paper which Robert Ryece here transmits has only twenty-eight articles, and no questions at all. — EDS.

(3) That the Communion Table (in euery church) do allwayes stande close vnder the walle vp at the Easte ende of the Channcell, the endes thereof Northe & Sowthe, (vnlesse the ordinarye geve particular direction otherwyse). And that the rayles be made before it, accordinge to the Archebishops late iniunctions, reachinge crosse from the northe walle to the sowthe walle, neere one yarde in heighte, & so thicke with pillers, that dogges can not gett in.

(4) That the Lettany be never omytted on Sondayes, Weddensdayes, & Frydayes. And that at all the mynister be in his surplice & hoodde, when so ever he is in publicke to performe any parte of his priestely function. And that in readinge the chapters, he leave owte the contentes. And after the lessons doe vse no psalmes or hymnes, but those that are appoynted by the Common prayer boocke.

(5) That the Gloria Patri be sayde after euery Psalme, standinge vp, & that all the people doe awdibly, make all awnswere in the Lettany, & in all other partes of the service, as is appoynted by the boocke of common prayer. And to the ende (to leade the common people theerein) that there be a parishe clarke provyded in euery parishe, that can reade sufficientlye, & have compotente allowance from the parishe. And where there is none, that there bee one forthewith appoynted & chosen, accordinge to the Canon.

(6) That the *Quicunque vult* (or creede of Sainte Athanasius) bee vsed on the dayes by the Rubrick appoynted, in steade of the Appostles creede. And that the mynisters forgett not to reade the Collects, Epistles, & Ghospells, appoynted for the conversion of St. Pawle. And for all the holy weeke before Easter, ffor Barnabas daye, and for Ashe Weddensdaye, with the commination (also) on that. And also to vse the prayers & suffrages, goinge the perambulation, which is yeerely to be vsed in every parishe, vpon the

Rogation dayes — vizt, the Mundaye, Tewsedaye & Weddensday nexte before Ascention, & at no other tyme. At which it is awntiently enioyned that the mynister (at some conveniente places) doe in a woorde admonishe the people to geve thankes to God, beholdinge his benefites in the frutes of the earthe, sayenge the 103 Psalme, & (as tyme & place shall admytte it) the 104 Psalme. And at any especiall bownde-markes, this or suche sentences of holy Scripture, CURSED BEE HEE THAT REMOOUETH AWAYE THE MARKE OF HYS NEIGHBOURS LANDE. And that returninge at laste to the churche, there thay saye the divine service.

(7) That no man do presume to haue his hatte on his heade in the tyme of service and sermon in the church. And that due & comly reverence be vysibly doone by all persons presente, where the blessed name of the Lorde Jesus is mentioned. And that euery one of the people doe kneele devowtely, when the Confession, Absolution, Commandiments or any Collects, or other prayers, is readde, both at the tyme of the Communion-Service of the Church: as also at Christninges, Mariages, Burialls, &c.

(8) That they goe vp to the holy table, at Mariadges, at suche tyme as the Rubricke so directeth. And that the newe maried persons doe kneele withowte the rayle, & doe at there owne charge, (yf the Communion were not warned the Sundaye before) receyve the holy Communion that daye, or else to be presented by the Mynister and Church wardens, at the nexte Generall for not receyvinge.

(9) That woomen to be churched come & kneele at a syde, neere the communion table, with owte the rayle (beinge vayled accordinge to the custome, & not covered with a hatt), as other wyse not to be churched, but to be presented at the nexte Generall by the Mynister & Church wardens, or any of them.

(10) That warninge be geven by the Mynister for holydayes & fastinge dayes of the weeke followenge, im-

mediately after the sermon or homelye. And that the Communion for the Sondaye followenge be warned the Sundaye before, immediately after the prayer for the wholle estate of Christes church. And that as soone as suche warninge be gyven, the seconde of those 3 exhortations (which nexte after the prayer for the vniversall church, are sett downe in the service boocke) be treateably pronownced. After which to followe some of the Collectes appoynted; and to dismisse the people with the PEACE OF GOD, &c.

(11) That when any neede is, the sycke be prayed for, in the readinge deske (& noe wheare else) at the close of the firste service; excepte it bee the afternoone, and then to be doone immediately after the Creede, vsinge only those 2 collects which are sett downe in the service boocke for the visitation of the sycke. That nexte after the mariadge (if there bee any) be begunne in the bodye of the church and fynished at the table. That the churchinge of women do begynne as soone as the mynister comes to the communion table, before the seconde service; vnlesse there be a mariadge the same daye: ffor then the churchinge is not to beginne tyll those prayers appoynted to be sayd at the Lords table (for the mariadge), be ended.

(12) That no Mynister presume to marry any persons, whereof one of the parties is not of his parishe, vnlesse it bee otherwyse expressely mentioned in the lycence; nor that he marrye any by vertue of any facultye or licence, wherein the name of the Archedeacon or officiall is mentioned, *sub pena suspensionis.*

(13) That the parishioners be warned by the Mynister & Church wardens to bringe there children to church for baptisme in due tyme. And if any childe be not browghte before the seconde lesson, that then the parents be presented for that defawte. And that no baptisme be administred, (exceptinge in the case of necessetie) but on the Sondaye or holy daye.

(14) That the ffonte at baptisme be fylled with cleane water, & no dyshes, payles or basons be vsed in it, or insteade of it. And that the Mynister admytte but 2 godfathers & one godmoother for a male childe, & 2 good moothers & one god father for a female: and then doe at the fyrste aske them, whither the childe be yett baptised or not. And doe take it in his armes, & do signe it with the sygne of the crosse when he doothe baptize it. And after all do admonishe them to bringe yt to confyrmation when tyme shall serve.

(15) That all communicants come vp reverently & kneele before the rayle to receyve the Communion. And that the Mynister repeate to euery communicante (severally) all the woordes that are appoynted to be sayd at the distribution of the holy Sacramente.

(16) That no wicker bottles, or taverne potts be browghte to the Communion table. And that the breade be browghte in a cleane clothe or napkin. And that the woordes of consecration, be awdibly repeated (agayne) yf any breade or wyne be vsed which was not at the firste consecrated.

(17) That the Mynister & Churchewardens of greate parishes, to avoyde confucion, & over longe wearienge, bothe of the mynister & of the parishioners, doe take order that there doe not come aboove 300, or at the moste 400 communicants, to one Communion, ffor which cawse thay are warned to have Communions the oftener.

(18) That the holy Oblations, in suche parishes where it pleaseth God at any tyme to putt into the hartes of his people by that holy action to acknowledge his guyfte of all which thay have to them, & there tenure of all from hym, and there debtte of all to hym: bee receeved by the Mynister standinge before the table, at there comynge vp to make there oblations. And (then by hym reverendly) presented before the Lorde, & sett vpon the table tyll the service be ended.

(19) That the Mynister doe chatechyze in the after noone halfe an hower (at the leaste), immediately after the laste ringinge or towlinge of the bell for the eveninge prayer: accordinge to the questions of the churche chatechisme only, and standinge in the readinge deaske.

(20) That the Mynisters readinge deske doe not stande with the backe towardes the chawncell, nor to remote or farre from it.

(21) That the chawncells & alleyes in the churche be not encroched vpon by buyldinge the seates. And if any be so buylte, the same to be remooved and taken awaye, and that no pewes be made on hie, so that thay which bee in them, cannot bee seene how thay behave them selves, or the prospecte of the church or chauncell hindered. And therefore that all pewes (with in) doe not exceede a yarde in heighte [*sic*], be taken downe neere to that scantlinge, vntill the Byshopp by his owne inspection (or by the viewe of some especiall commissioners) shall otherwyse allowe.

(22) That none of what ranke so ever keepe any chaplyns or schollers in there howses to reade prayers, expownde scriptures, or to instructe the famylies, vnlesse thay bee therevnto enabled by lawe.

(23) Whereas Sermons are required by the Churche of Englande, only vpon Sondayes and holy dayes in the ffore-noones, & at mariages, and are permitted at funerralls, that none presume to take vpon them to vse any preachinge or expowndinge (or to holde any suche lecturinge) at any othe tyme, with owte expresse lycence from the Byshoppe.

(24) That euery one (allowed to bee a lecturer) doe reade the devine service (ffullye) in his surplice & hoodde, before euerye lecture, in the same manner, as is appoynted on Sondayes. And that all lecturers behave them selves modestly in there sermons (preachinge faythe, obedience, & good woorkes: in all thinges observinge his Majesties declaration prefixed before the 39 Articles, and his Majesties iniunctions), with owte intermedlinge with matters of

state, or questions late in difference, not favoringe or abeattinge any Scismaticks or Separatistes, eyther by especiall prayer for them, or other wyse approovinge of them.

(25) That the Churchewardens suffer no man (but there owne person, vicar or curate) to preache vpon any occasion in there church, tyll he shewe hys lycence, & subscribe his name in there paper boocke (for that purpose) appoynted, & the name of the Bishop who allowed hym.

(26) That there be the same manner of ringinge of bells to churche on holy dayes, which is vsed on Sondayes, And that there be no difference of ringinge to church (when there is a sermon) more then when there is none: exceptinge the knell for ffuneralls.

(27) That no church or chappell-wyndowe be stopped vp in any parte, nor the ffloore (in any parte) vnpaved or vncleane kepte, nor the church any wayes abused, anoyed or prophanned.

(28) That all defawltes (contrary to the premisses heereof) be faythefullye inquired into by the Officialls from tyme to tyme at there Generalls; of whom the Byshoppe wyll require an accownte concerninge the same. MATH: NORVIC:

Concordat cum articulis,

WILLYELMUS COLMAN, *Registrarius*.

Pardon my boldenes. Yours euer in the Lorde.

THOMAS SMYTHE. C:

10 of MARCHE 1636.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop: "Mr S: his A: B: C:" also, in another place, "Mr. R: Answ:"

(ANONYMOUS LETTER.)

—— ——* TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the worshipfull Mr. Wintropp, at his house in Boston in New England, these be dd.

Worshipfull & much honoured Sir, — My selfe with many others are daily petitioners to God, for his grace to abound towards you in New England, that you may encrease in fayth, wisedome, humility, loue, zeale, patience, brotherly kindenes, &c. inioying such a competency of outward prosperity as may make you to liue in the seruice of the Lord the more comfortably. And we are exceedingly gladd to heare of your wellfare, & especially your growths in holines.

Now for myne owne particular, I haue bin much moued of late, as obseruing some passages both in your & our England, to write my slender aduice to some prudent man among you, & one gracious with the plantations, & thereby able to giue counsell to them, & to prevayle with them in things conducing to God's glory & your owne prosperities.

First, I haue red & heard of sundry lettres written from some with you vnto others with vs, (& I feare there haue bin very many such sent ouer to vs into diuerse parts of

* This letter is without date or signature. It is indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "*Spec. Lre. ab ignos;*" which was probably intended to designate it as a *special* letter from an unknown hand. We trust the Governor did not mean *specious*. There are few letters in this volume of which we should be more glad to know the writer. He says, "I have not subscribed heereunto, not knowing whither my lettre may not miscarry. The bearer perhaps can tell you of me." It is a remarkable letter both in style and substance, and contains many suggestions which might have been heeded with advantage. The reference to the "Newes from Ipswich," and other allusions, leave no doubt that it was written about the year 1636–7. — Eds.

our land,) wherein there are many weake, & some dangerous passages, which if they should come to the eyes or eares of any one of many thousands of your aduersaries, it would afford them matter enough to attempt your vndoing, what in them did lye. And it is Gods mercy that they are not made knowen, if at least they are not. As, namely, there came ouer not long since a lettre from you to a friend with vs, which, I feare, through indiscretion, the eies & eares of many haue bin made priuy to, to this effect, that whereas it is reported there will be a Gouernour & a Bishopp sent ouer vnto you, he hopeth (or else it was, we hope) that God will giue you grace to stand for his truth; which words will carry a strange construction with our state, howeuer it might not be soe meant by him that wrote it, and it would redound to the preiudice of you all. Another among you writes, that he knowes no newse to acquainte his friend with all, but that you are like to haue warrs the next yeere with old England! Others haue written as freely & vnaduisedly about your discipline, writing ouer to vs formes thereof, & the opinions & tenents which you hold, whyther all of them as they relate, or not, we know not; which hath caused a wonderfull disaffection in very many towards you, & which is most grieuous, in many such as are the deare children of God, insomuch that there is like to be, if it be not maturely healed, a greate rent in affection betweene you & them, that though we are like to see sadd times, yet there are, till they be otherwise informed, who are resolued to vndergoe much misery heere, rather then euer to remoue hence. And one not of meane ranck, & of long approued holines, hearing of your renouncing vs to be a church, & that you mainteine the opinions of the seperacion, contrary to your declaracion at your first going ouer, professed secretely to one that told it me, that he could scarce tell how to pray for you. Not that I (for perhaps not himselfe, in cold blood, doth) approue such

vncharitable speeches, but my intention is to shew what a rent and alienation there is like to be, and how sadd both myne owne & others harts haue bin made about thes things, not a little fearing the evill consequences that will come heereby, both to you & vs, from others, & to you & vs from ourselues, that soe, if it be possible, as much as in you lyeth, you may endeauour a prevention of them. Besides, the whole kingdome begins, or rather proceeds to be full of preiudice against you, & you are spoken of disgracefully & with bitternes, in the greatest meetings in the kingdome. The Pulpitts sound of you both at Visitacions & Assises, & the Judges begin to mention you in theyre charges. The Judg in his circuite now lately, in giuing his charge & speaking of recusants, rancked them into two sorts, some Papists & others of the Seperacion, & those of the seperacion were such, he sayd, as preferred Amsterdam before London, & New England before Old. And for these last, he gaue a speciall charge, that they should be lookt after, & to that end that they should take notice of such as inclined towards New England, for they were the causes of error & faction in Church & State. And much more there is, 'tis likely, that neuer came to my knowledg. I know that the wise among you doe not expect protection from God, without a mixture of the serpents wisedome with the doues innocency, & that is as much wisedome (the serpent being the subtilest of the beasts of the field) as may consist with innocency; & as much innocency (the doue being the simplest of the fowles of the ayre) as may consist with wisedome.

Now giue me leaue to propose some few things, of which some perhaps, if not all, may doe you good. 1. You may please in some publike meeting to disclayme all such lettres tending to the purpose first mentioned, & withall to establish an order against any that shall euer be knowen to indite & send ouer such lettres to vs, and against any that shall speake among you to such or the

like purpose; that soe if any question be made, at any time, of these things against you, by any in our state, (as iustly they may, & will if they meete with it) your order & penalty to be inflicted on such offenders may secure you. 2. You may please to haue further cautions giuen in eury plantacion, touching writing ouer to vs about your discipline, and how any be censorious of vs heere in theyre lettres to vs, not calling any of vs, as I vnderstand some haue done, doggs & swine, especially those of the profaner sort among vs, nor questioning our ministry & calling to it, as another with you did in a lettre written ouer to a godly minister & friend both of the parties & myne; for your disclaymings of these & the like odious things shall much aduantage you, to the preseruation of brotherly affections & peace with your friends in old England. As you may gather heereby, that your disclayming of Mr. Williams's opinions & your dealing with him soe as we heare you did, tooke off much preiudice from you with vs, & hath stopt the mouths of some. Moreouer, you may please that items be giuen in plantacions, that whosoeuer of them shall at any time come ouer from you to vs, as most yeeres many doe, they would spare to speake of any such or the like matters as aforesayd, yea, though they are prouoked, for I heare of one of your men now with vs that disclaymes our church for a true church, & shews I know not what booke or bookes to that purpose, which if it be soe, as I heare it reported, it may doe both you & vs exceeding greate hurt. Likewise that all commers ouer from you to vs be aduised to carry themselues meekely & humbly, & not somewhat highly and disdeignefully, as slighting vs in comparison of you, as some haue bin noted to doe. 3. That any with you be aduised how they doe answeare the lettres (such as they may be) of theire friends sent ouer from vs to you; for we heare of a letter that Mr. Cotton should write (how true the report is, I knowe not yet) in answere to a lettre written to him by one Mr.

Bernard* of Botcombe in Sommersetshire, a man though vpright in the mayne, yet of very greate weaknesses; wherein, as we heare, Mr. Cotton should write, that we are a true church *Implicitè* but not *Explicitè*, which if it be soe (as you may soone vndrstand) will doe not a little hurt among vs, for besides that much fauour will be graunted vs by the strictest of the seperacion, and might haue bin graunted our church in the dayes of King Henry the 8th, or of Queen Mary, which will be the common exception against that distinction by the most among vs; yet suppose the distinction admitted, we doe wonder if a reuerend & wise minister of Christ should vpon the letter, or perhaps prouocation of Mr. Bernard, or indeed of any, send ouer your opinions to vs in such a point, which can doe vs little or noe good, your selues very much disadvantage many wayes. 4. That your ministers, especially they of chiefest note, be persuaded to please to write ouer theire kind letters to theire friends with vs, especially to the chiefest of the ministry with vs in the seuerall parts of the kingdome, for the preseruacion of brotherly loue, which otherwise will decay apace, & it is conceiued by many that there is a greate alienacion in you of affeccion towards vs. 5. Aduise may be giuen that any with you be wary how they receaue some such bookes as haue of late bin written in our land, which haue more stirred the state then euer I knew it, and after which bookes there is greate inquiry made, & many haue bin bound ouer to the Assises about them, others imprisoned, & not a few are now, as I heare, in the Starr-chamber about them, & if once it be perceaued that the bookes goe likewise ouer vnto you, it will double the preiudice against you. Of these bookes there are especially two, the one intituled Newse from Ipswitch, the other conteining the Judgments of God which within this two or three yeeres he hath

* See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 275. — Eds.

shewen on profaneners of the Lords day. For the first of which, it is a booke of extreame bitternes, & farr enough off from the spirit of Christ, wherein the libeller (for soe he is generally termed) speakes of the Bishops, that which the Ark-Angell would not speake vnto the Diuell; besides that he makes in it an apostophe to our king, to whom he speakes very vnreuerently; & he pretends the name of Matthew White, & the newse to be sent from Ipswitch, which is noe better then lying, & pretends, in the frontispice, a third edition, &c. For the other booke, there are very many remarkable Judgments mentioned in it, shewen of late on profaneners of the Lord's day, for the Lord hath bin knowen among vs by the Judgments that he hath executed, but the booke is carryed but weakely in the penning, for it is feared that there is a greate fayling in many & chiefe circumstances in the instances alleaged, if some few of them alsoe were not taken too suddenly on trust, & heare-say, without well looking after the truth, insomuch that the Judg, now lately in open Assises, boldly affirmed that all the instances were eyther altogether or in part lyes, & bad any one in the audience to say the contrary, if he could. Moreouer there is a Post-script added to the booke, touching the remarkeable hand of God on Mr. Noy, which taxeth the whole Starr-chamber, & digresseth farr from the question of the booke; & this latter is noe lesse, but rather more heinously taken then the other. The greatest clothier in England, one Mr. Ash of Sommersetshire, a man reputed for honest, is now in question for receauing & dispersing 150 of these bookes. He was bound ouer for it by his Bishop to the Assises, & about 20 more of ministers & others, and besides much spoken by the Judg vnto him & of this matter. He told him that he pittyed him, being one that did soe much good in his countrey, as setting a 1000 poore people on worke, but he would be made an example to the whole kingdome. These things I am bold to certify you of, that in your

wisdome you may doe that which shall most make for God's glory & your prosperities. Especially our hope is that if euer any bookes should be penn'd by you, they will be farr from bitternes or weakenes, & such as may much profite God's people, & not iustly preiudice you; but I suppose your imployments take you vp otherwise. Lastly, this one thing more, that whereas the hand of God hath lyen vpon vs aboue these two yeeres, by a grieuous kind of pox, generall through the kingdome, killing many of the ageder as well as others of the yonger sort, & likewise whereas the pestilence hath reigned for aboue this yeere, & killed betweene 12 & 20 thousand in London, & the suburbs,* & euen layd wast New Castle in the North, & is like yet further to continew; by meanes whereof there hath bin a greate stoppage in trading, & much misery throughout all the kingdome, for the Lord is highly displeased with vs, & there is some feare likewise of scarcity, (Oh, our sins are exceeding greate!) that you would be pleased to procure a generall publike Fast† throughout your plantations for vs, for we stand in greate need of it; afford vs, for the Lords sake, the help & pitty of brethren, & how doe you know what fauour this may winne you, both with God & men? And how would such a pious course answeare for you to very many (& some of them your brethren) who thinke you are gone from vs in affection & brotherly kindenes, as well as in place. And let me speake freely to you, that if soe iust a motion as this should find noe place with you, I feare

* Ten thousand four hundred persons are said to have died of the plague in London, in 1636, after an unusual mortality from small-pox and other malignant diseases for two or three years previous. — Eds.

† Winthrop says, 1636 (11), 20: "A general fast was kept in all the churches. The occasion was the miserable estate of the churches in Germany; the calamities upon our native country; the bishops making havoc in the churches, putting down the faithful ministers, and advancing Popish ceremonies and doctrines; the plague raging exceedingly, and famine and sword threatening them; the dangers of those at Connecticut, and of ourselves also, by the Indians; and the dissensions in our churches." See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 213; Mass. Colonial Records, i. 187. — Eds.

that God will be angry with you. And O that some poure-full sermon that would endure the reading in old England, preached with you vpon such a day, might come to our hands heere, how ioyfully should we read it, & prayse our God, & how readily should we obiect it to all such as eyther condemne or suspect you of vncharitablenes, & vnnaturall affections!

And now perhaps you may thinke (at least I know many among you would, for I am well acquainted with the spiritts of many with you in this thing) that all these things sauour of feare, vnbeliefe & ouer much discretion. But I would answere them, that what I thus write, it is for theyre sakes, & well may I shew loue, but why feare for theyre sakes, I meane distrustfull feare? And whereas my spirit is naturally farr from pragmaticall, inclining rather to the other extreme, I haue bin much moued of late thus to write, & yet whither euer I shall come ouer vnto you, I know not, for I desire to doe the worke of God, & to glorify him heere or there, liuing & dying; and I haue found the Lords speciall presence with me now of late (praise be to his name for euer) in such remarkeable manner, as I neuer found the like before, & I can but inioy his presence in any part of the world. Onely this I say, that if God send me to you, for I wayte vpon him, I shall not vnwillingly goe, & whereas he hath pleased to open a doore of liberty with you for many that haue bin streightned heere, my desire is to vse all iust wayes to keepe it open, both for your & our sakes, &, apprehending you to be our deare brethren, to prevent all such inconveniences, as (without greate mercy from God, who yet will be wayted vpon in the vse of meanes) I plainly see approching towards you. Howeuer you conceiue of me, my endeauour is heerein with Jethro to giue aduise to the people of God, in the wildernes, for whom my prayers daily are. And soe long as you hold any correspondence with vs, haue any dependance vpon vs, stand in that rela-

tion to vs which you can neuer breake, nor all the waters betweene you & vs wash away, I cannot but thinke my aduise, though weake, yet such as may doe you good. There be other things that I might haue written, but I shall be gladd if these may be accepted. I haue not subscribed heerevnto, not knowing whither my lettre may not miscarry. The bearer perhaps can tell you of me. Now the Lord in his Infinite mercy be with your plantacions & his churches with you, & with your selfe in particular, to blesse you & your posterityes after you, to the world's end.

[POSTSCRIPT.]

SIR, — I humbly entreate you to conceale it, that any with vs hath thus written vnto you. There is another thing that I haue noted since I wrote the inclosed lettre, that many in your plantacions discouer much pride, as appeareth by the lettres we receaue from them; wherein some of them write ouer to vs for lace, though of the smaller sort, going as farr as they may, for we heare that you prohibite them any other; and this they say hath very good vent with you, *non benè ripæ creditur.* They write ouer likewise for cutt-worke coifes; & others, for deep stammell dyes; & some of your owne men tell vs that many with you goe finely cladd, though they are free from the fantasticalnes of our land.

There is likewise another thing which I haue not mentioned in the lettre enclosed, which I suppose you are not altogether ignorant of, that your Patent is called in & condemned, & the Patentees haue renounced, and they are outlawed that haue not, till they come in & make theyre peace; of whom one of them is my neighbour, & is now riding to London about it. You know, I beleeue, the causes heereof, but what the effects of it will be we are ignorant, but doubt & feare, onely we looke vp to God. I hope you striue to keepe close with the Lord. How

earnestly can I pray that you may, & that you may all mind holines, & the things that are aboue, & grow vp in fayth, loue, humility, & self-denyall; & that you may be of an Euangelicall spiritt. For if once pride, couetousnes, opposicion & contention &c. destroy the poure of holines among you, yea, or your being cast into a new frame of discipline take you vp for the most part, diuerting your minds, meditacions & practises from all holy conuersacion & godlines, there will soone grow a strangenes betweene you & God, who will then surely bring affliccions vpon you, to draw you nearer to himselfe. The good Lord in his infinite mercy be gracious to you. Oh how doe I desire it! I can noe more forget you then my selfe. And the Almighty God vouchsafe that both your doctrine & discipline worke mightily & effectually vpon your hearts & liues, to meeken & sanctify them throughout. If you please to write any thing back to me, the bearer heereof can tell you how it may be sent & deliuered to me. The Lord be with your spirit. Amen.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Spec. Lrē *ab ignot.*"

LETTERS OF HENRY JACIE.*

HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. Winthrop in London these be dd.

Worthy Sir, — Mr. Gurdon riding towards Dedham this morning (not to return this day) cald at the house of our honest neighbour goodman Kingsbury: & there perceiving how ill he was, being in bed then, he wished them there to send for me to come thither to see & here how it was with him, that I might write to your Worship to certify you thereof; for he had writ to you, but knew not so well how this party was.

Now these are therfore to enforme your Worship, according to his & his wives relation to me (of whose trueth I dare not doubt), that he is in great weakenes, & more within this fortnight then of late, in so much that one Physition tels him he is in danger of his life, another saith

* Rev. Henry Jacie (or Jessey, as his name is spelt by some authors), an eminent Puritan divine, was born 3 Sept., 1601, at West Rowton, in Yorkshire, where his father was minister. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; spent nine years, after leaving the university, as chaplain in the family of Brampton Gurdon, of Assington, in Suffolk; and, in 1633, was presented with the living of Aughton, in Yorkshire, but was removed the next year for his nonconformity. Upon his ejection from this place, he was received into the family of Sir Matthew Boynton; and, in 1635, was invited to take charge of the congregation in London, formed in 1616 by Henry Jacob, and of which Rev. John Lothrop was the second pastor. Jacie became a Baptist in 1645, and was rebaptized by Hanserd Knollys. He preached for some time at St. George's, Southwark; from which living he was ejected at the Restoration, silenced from his ministry, and committed to prison. He died 4 Sept., 1663; soon after his liberation from confinement. His portrait is given in Toulmin's edition of Neal's History of the Puritans. Three of his letters to John Winthrop, Jr., are printed in vol. i., third series, of these Collections. See also Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, i. 435; 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 165. — Eds.

he is so dangerously sick that he dare not advice him to purge, it would kill him, nor to let him blood, he is so weak; & that he is in danger of a consumption, the state of his body being changed to worse, so that now he is not able to go about his ordinary work. He endeavoured of late to have done somwhat easily, but hath been the worse ever since, so that he hath been glad to keep his bed til noon or therabout, every day this sennight. Altogether unable to travell.

Whereas he had a warrant of your Worship to attach the bodies of his assaulters to appear at the Assize, one that was the constables deputy (as he said) left word at his house as from Sir Robt.,* that they were brought before him, & he had bound one of them over to the Sessions. Now he fearing least things should not be rightly caried, (being not able to go thither, if he live so long,) desires your Worships direction what course might be thought best to be taken, & your furtherance therin, for having the cause brought to the Size, if it may be, & you think good.

As for himselfe, he is nowayes able to go to London for my Lord's assistance, to take his oath, &c. But if need be his brother would be willing to go for him. I need not use any motives to one that so knows the cause, & whose heart the Lord hath sett for him & his, & to be with the Lord to help against the mighty.

The Lord enable your Worship still to proceed in so doing: yea, while you are for him, he will be for you, he wil not leave you nor forsake you. To whose Grace, which is sufficient, I desire humbly to commend you, & so I take my leave, resting

Your Worships to be commaunded in him,

HENRIE JACIE.

From his house in ASINGTON, May 5, 1629.

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* Sir Robert Crane. — EDS.

Since the writing of the rest, Mr. Brampton Gurdon, newly returned from Dedham, from his father, further certifies me that it is his mind I should write to your Worship in behalfe of this our neighbour: but now I perceive not that himselfe hath written to you: wherby I fear least
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his marke. they mistook part of his words. But I know he purposed to certify you of it, to further the procurement of the Lord Chief Justice's help, to bring the matter to the Assizes, notwithstanding his binding over to the Sessions, which his Worship thought might possibly be procured by the coming up of this our neighbours brother for him, if himself were not able, if you sent down word accordingly, that he may be directed what to do. May it please you therfore to write down to Mr. Gurdon about it.

HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipful, his very good Friend, John Winthrop junr Esqr. son to the Cheef Governor of N.E., at Boston there.

Dear Sir, — I humbly & most heartily salute you in the Lord, as also your loving yokefellow, not forgetting the other Mris. Winthrops, your pious mother & sisters, to whom I pray you excuse me, for I want time to write. How affayrs go here may better be related then written. Neither have I time to write the late passages of that worthy Swedish King:* and besides I have not the late Corantoes, to send you any of them, as I would (for they ar of late as true as ordinary letters) yet seing like as cold waters to a weary soul, so ar good news from a far countrie, Pro.

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* Gov. Winthrop records, under date of Sept. 27, 1632, "A day of thanksgiving at Boston for the good news of the prosperous success of the King of Sweden," &c. — *Hist. of N.E.*, i. 90. — Eds.

25, 25, I haue therfore sent you the best Corantoes we have in the house, that have things of most importance, though some of them long since, yet may be news to you, of another world. After you have perused them, I pray you send them according to their superscriptions. This I adde; after Tillie's encounter with Gustavus Horn, a brave Swedish commaunder, a messenger that came from the Arch duchesse must needs speak with our King. His message was to certify his Majestie that Gustavus Horn had lost 10,000 men, which Sir Isaac Ashly presently crossed, who being newly come from the King of Sweden, said such a report came at 1 to the King of Sweden, which made him very sad for 2 or three hours: then came a post to him from Gustavus Horn to certify him that the said Gustavus had lost 3 or 400 of his men, but had cut off 2 regiments of the enemie, & routed another. This being towards Bavaria, the King of Sweden sent thitherward a great armie, which hath greatly spoiled a great part of Bavaria, making that as the seat of the wars. There about the Lord hath given that king divers great victories. About 8 weeks since we heard that our Kings Majestie had a letter, wherein was declared how the forces of Tillie being encamped on the River Donaw, the Sweds came so hotly on them, that they were forced through the river, to escape to Dunwerken in Bavaria. The King of Sweden having lately took a bridge neer, came upon them thereby quickly, & drove them out of the town, which yelded to him. 'Tis said the King routed the armie, took al his munition & ordnance, & took 3000 prisoners. Again we hear since, that Tillies forces being entrenched strongly by Donaw, & some othir forces within a few dayes were to joine with him, against the Sweds. Sweden seing their was no adventuring on the land's side, proffered 10 dollars a peece (1.20*s.*) to his Finlanders to lead the way over the great water, which some of them did, & but 3 of al drowned. Yet Tillie subtilly hath an ambushment against him, which the

King of Sweden perceived, & seemd as if he did not, set his ordnance to follow the foot & horse: which being come to the place, & the ambushment appearing, the horse turne aside one way, the foot another, & leave them before the mouth of the canon to play on them, so routed the armie. Of late the King of Sweden hath had his horse twice kild under him, yet God preserved him.

The last news we heard was that the Bores in Bavaria that slew about 300 of the Swedish forces, & took about 200 prisoners, of which they put out the eys of some, & cut out the tonges of others, & so sent them to the King of Sweden, which caused him to lament bytterly for an howr. Then he sent an army & destroyed those Bores, about 200 or 300 of their towns. Thus we hear.

Great stir is among the Turks, because of the Emperour of them putting a Viseir Basha to death, by an other Basha, which caused a mutinie, the particulars I cannot, nor have I time to relate. Mr. Gurdon with Mrs. Gurdon & their sons & daughter were al wel lately, they having ben now a fortnight at London, & to stay about a 14 day more.

One Mr. Milburn that sets forth a prognostic under the name of Sofford, says on the 3d of October next wil be a fearful ecclipse of the sun in New England. About a quarter before 4 in the afternoon is the midst of it, with us not seen, being about 8 at night with us. So he accounts. He desired me to write to some in New England to observ it, so should the Longitude be more perfectly known of New England. I shal send you his observation of it; I pray
Mr. Sofford. you observe it & send me yours, which I shal returne with his, if you please.* In great hast, I take my leave, resting Yours in the Lord H. Jacie.

* It appears from a letter of Jacie, published in vol. i., third series, of these Collections, that Winthrop was prevented from making this observation by the cloudy state of the atmosphere. We find the eclipse noted in Riccioli's catalogue as central in Mexico, and 8° 37′ digits eclipsed. The eclipse of the moon which occurred on the 17th of October, 1632, was observed by Winthrop, and the result sent to Jacie, as noticed in the next letter in this volume. See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 243. — Eds.

Dr. Taylor of London dying, hath given (we hear) 20*s* yeerly for a yeerly Sermon to be as a memorial of Leipswich.

Mr. Nathaniel Rogers desires to have his best respect remembred to the Cheef Governor (as I also) & to Mrs. Winthrop & your selfe.

Indorsed, "Mr Jacy, received Sept: 20: 1632. Of the Eclipses."

HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his Worthy friend Mr. John Winthrop, sonne to the Right Worthy Governour of New England.

Worthy Sir, — If you knew how ioyful a thing it was to me to receive (the last night) though but one letter from your so renowned plantation (vizt. from Ephraim Child), I am perswaded you would have added to my ioy by a line or two. Before this his letter, yours dated October 21, 1632, concerning the moones ecclipse, October 17, was the last I received thence. A copy of that I sent to Mr. Milburne, from whom I expected to have received more in that kind about ecclipses, & directed him how to send to you. I received none since from him. Our estate here in particular, in general, you may better hear from the honest bearer John Firmin, then by my letter. The Lord hath been merveilous in his mercies to this our land; and we have dealt shamefully unthankfully with him: and therefore if he proceede to deal wonderfully in his judgements against us, as he threatned to do with Israel, Isa. 29, 13–15, that the wisdome of the wise sh[all] fail them, & the seers [b]e covered, etc., it were just with him. We have not feared when he hath oft shaken the rod, nor turned to him when he hath smitten us, except fainedly, and then to our sins

againe. Yea, even to spiritual adultery, defiling the mariage bed, & yet say, wiping our mouths, What evil have we done? Who dare charge us therewith? Name him that we may make him smart for it; as some have, others do, & more are likely. I read lately a large letter from Archbishop Grindal of Canterbury to Queen Elizabeth, from whom commaund was comming to him to forbid exercises, & cause fewer preachers in regard of contention, etc. He writ, God forbid his tongue should be an instrument of publishing that was so to Gods dishonour. We have no power against the trueth, but for the trueth. How it is for the Sabbath you shal heare. What wil become of us God knowes. We had need stand as much in the gap as we can, tho' we be not without some danger for it. Blessed be God, there are divers such in this cold climate of Yorkshire, yea & in Northumberland, people, ministers, gentlemen, & here some knights also. Pray for us, deare Sir, & desire your ministers to do so in publick, though I conceive they oft do so. God is not yet departed; he walks sometimes in our gardens, & makes some dead herbs to live and blossome, both elder & yonger, in these cold seasons. The God Alsufficient be amongst you, and perserve you, that you may be al of one mind according to trueth, that you, having salt in your selves, may be at peace one with another, Mar. 9, end: that you may deny your selves, & your own reasonings, in humility condescending one to another, so far as may stand with a good conscience, considering one anothers weakenesse to cover it in love, avoiding needles disputes, causing strife, rather then edifying, Heb. 13. 9. I desire al your prayers for me to the God that heareth prayer, that he that hath called me here to the ministery, & given desires of doing his work faithfully & syncerely, εν παρρησια & humility, would direct me in al things to do his wil, & keep my selfe pure, & vphold & blesse me & my endeavours, as he hath given me cause of praises to him in this behalfe. Blesse his holy name with me, who rejoice

with you in his great kindnes towards you, and hope I shal no longer live, then I abide

Your & New Englands faithfull friend so far as I am able HEN: JACIE.

AUGHTON, Dec. 17, 1633.

My best respect & heartiest love remembred to al my deare friends with you, richer & poorer; for I am straitned in time. I can write no more now thither.

HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his very good Friend John Winthrop the Yonger, Esquier, in New Ipswich, in New England. Leave these with the Right Worshipfull Mr. Winthrop of Boston.

LONDON 6th month 18th day.*

GOOD MR. WINTHROP, — Though about 2 or 3 months ago I writ to you, yet it seeming that that letter is not yet sent away, & now there being further opportunity of sending, I desire, what in me lies, to make some satisfaction for my former neglect, or at least, not so oft performing it in this kind, as love & respect, I ow, bind me. Now to acquaint you with our affaires: S. Mat:† having (by the Lords good provision) obteined a most meet helper, as one of the same heart, mind, & spirit, remaining this 12 month within 20 miles of London, in a place 5 miles from the Parish Church, hath enjoyed great freedome: but now of late the clouds gather fast towards a storme, their ship is like to be filled with waves, but they seeking to awaken

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* Although the year is not given, it is sufficiently designated by the contents of the letter as 1637. — EDS.

† Probably *Sir Matthew* Boynton. — EDS.

Christ for their help, they there desire to expect all help. As for me, the Lord having discovered the necessity & beauty of being under Christs Government, & refrained some time, hoping the last spring to haue come with them to New England. Now seing they ar yet stayed & ar like to stay, I know not how long, til they be satisfied, I could not so be content, tho I enjoyd so great priviledges there, bodily & spiritual: but having been sued unto & oft provoked by that society wher Mr. Lathr:* was, & long sought, & at last obteined ful satisfaction for uniting to them, the Lord removing divers lets, & providing so wel for the place I supplied, I am now come to London to them, though not undertaking any office, though now urged to it, desiring first to hear from some in New England to whom I writ about half a yeer ago. Letters to me may be directed as before, to be left with Mr. Overton in Pope's head Alley.

Touching Mr. Burton etc. He having preached Novemb. 5. on Prov. 24. 21; My son, fear God & the King, & meddle not with them that ar given to change; then urged his people to take notice of many changes of late in books allowed, & in practise, as altars, etc. and being charged to answere before the High Commission, he appealed to the King. Being asked why he did so, he answered, because I would not have mine adversaries be my judges. Hence being forced thro danger to keep his house, he writ to the King the grounds hereof, together with his 2 sermons, as also to the Judges etc., which he appointed that vpon his apprehension should be delivered to the Counsel as they sate, by his wiffe, which was performed. She *ergo* was imprisoned for a time, then releasd upon petition. He remaind close prisoner in the Fleet, as Mr. Prynn in the Towr, & Dr. Bastwick at Gatehouse, divers books being by stealth printed & di-

* Rev. John Lothrop, afterwards of Scituate and Barnstable. — Eds.

vulged, (as News from Ipswich, of that Bishop Wrens acts, etc:), Judgments on Sabbath breakers of late, therin a story of Mr. Noys death; Dr. Bastwick printing Πραξεις των Επισχοπων, conteining ther acts in their proceedings against him, for some passages against Lord Bishops in his book of reply in justifying the Kings supremacy against the Bishop of Rome, he having had many confronts here by a papist in that point. Then (as the Star Chamber bil saith) he writ a book cald a Leitany, wherin were many scandaulous passages, as, From Bishops, Priests, & Deacons, Good Lord deliver us. Also this, he therin in his wives name entreats Father William of Canterbury* his holines (so is his stile) & Father William of London,† Magnificus Rector of the Treasury, to be Godfathers to her child, not doubting but that her husband should procure the Whoor of Babylon, their old Mrs. with whom they had so long committed adultery, to be Godmother. And then (says he) we shal have such a Christening as hath not been in Europe this many a blessed day, etc. Mr. Burton's books being spread by divers persons known. Also Mr. Wakelin, Esq. when the Churchwardens of Bures enquird whether their comunion table should be placed altar wise, & pailed in as others are, he answered; Its no matter, its but a dance before Popery. He being rebuked by others there answered; You may say what you wil; the King hath a wife, & he loves her wel, & she is a papist, & we must al be of her religion, & thats the thing the Bishops aime at, etc., as the bil hath it.

Those 3 *ergo*, with Mr. Wakelin & about 16 more, were al joind together in a Starchamber bil, as such as ar combind together in their practises: the one doing or speaking so by the procurement, abetting etc. of the rest.

These 3 came to their answer neer the end of June, whose speaches then were taken by some, showing how they were

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* Laud. — Eds. † Juxon. — Eds.

hindred from giving answers, being close prisoners, & counsel not comming, & ther own answers not admitted; & now Mr. Pryn would give his on oath. But now no answere to be admitted, but their guilt taken *pro confesso*. They were censured at 5000*li* a peece, & perpetual imprisonment. Mr. Burton being first degraded, they al to stand on the pillory, then to loose their eares in Westminster pallace; Mr. Pryn also to be branded with S. L. for Seditious Libeller, which was performed Jun. last, (& their speaches then ar recorded by some writers.) Some say S. L. is for Syon's Lawyer.* The morning they suffred, Mr. Burton said thus to his sad wife: Good wife, let me not see a tear in thine eyes, nor hear a groane from thy heart; I have had 2 very joyful dayes, the first when I married my former wife, the latter when I married thee: & it was a joyful time indeed: yet nothing comparable to this day. This day the Lord puts greatest honour upon me, and he so fils me with comfort, that I am not able to keep it in, and I long to be at the work I am cald to, etc, (or to this effect). Then presently the Officers came for him. Dr. Bastwick & Mr. Pryn were set on one pillory: who sweetly embraced one another. Mr. Burton soon after was brought to the other pillory, somwhat lower. Many thousands of people were there, al generally pitying or applauding them, & oft laffing & clapping & shouting for joy, to see so great courage, & comfort, & undauntednes

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* We find in the work entitled "A New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny," &c., the following epigram, said to have been composed by Prynne, while on his return, by water, from the Palace Yard at Westminster to the Tower: —

"S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.

'STIGMATA *maxillis referens insignia* LAVDIS,
Exvltans remeo, victima grata Deo.'

"Which one since thus Englished,

'Triumphant I returne, my face descries,
LAVD's scorching SCARS, Gods grateful sacrifice.'

"And Mr. Prynne himselfe thus,

'Bearing LAVD's STAMPS on my cheeks, I retire,
Triumphing, God's sweet Sacrifice, by Fire.'" — *Op. cit.* pp. 65, 66.

EDS.

in each of them: they 2 spake to Mr. Burton, he to them, the people to each of them; encouraging & comforting them: al this without any controll, except by one or 2 officers, as one observed, that went round about to observe the peoples dispositions. One woman indeed, that was wondrous free in her speaches to them & to the people, going up & down, encouraging them to suffer: speaking of the enemies cruelty, an officer overheard & laid hold, & chargd a halbertman to cary her away. She passing a litle way on, said to him; Friend, I have nothing to say to you; & smiled on him, & so went among the rest, & he let her go.

There without any interruption, first Dr. Bastwick, then Mr. Pryn, then Mr. Burton, made large speaches to the people, declaring the cause of their suffrings, & what comfort they had in it, against the Prelates. Mr. Pryn said the statute was thus, made in Queen Elizabeths reigne, that if one usd libels against the King or Queen ther should be 2 months imprisonment, & 300*li* fine, (which had been I take it, but 1 month, & 100*li* in Queen Mary's reign) but for want of paying that fine, such punishment as seemed proportionable. Wheras now see the change of times (said he) when they say we ar libellers against the Prelates (yet prove it not), we ar fined 5000*li* a man, & perpetual imprisonment, & besides that, to have this corporal punishment, etc.

They were to stand on the pillory (I think) 3 hours: some there observd that the handle on the clock was set backward, sometimes ½ an hour at a time. So having joyfully & triumphantly suffred, despising the (intended) shame, they were had, each to the place whence they came, where they were very much visited by al sorts, except black coates (for none (or scarce any) of them, visited, or were at their pillory suffrings, or accompanied them toward the places whither they were adjudged to be

caried, as thousands did) which was one part of their censure, Dr. Bastwick to a castle in Cornewal, Mr. Burton to Lancaster, Mr. Pryn into a castle in Wales, which was performed about 3 weeks after; one 3 or 4 days after the other, with abundance of people, & happy he or she that could get them by the hand, or but touch their coat, (as one said wel, I toucht his coat once more). Divers had writ lettres to their Christian friends that dwelt neer the way towards these 3 castles, & many people met them in several places, & so went alongst with them, til others came in. Dr. Bastwick we hear hath a very poor hole to lodge in (& so Mr. Burton) (where the countrey rogues were wont to be it seemes.) We hear not yet of Mr. Pryns place, what it is. By these devices the Prelates hoped to have more prevailed; but its feared they have lost greatly by it. The poor credit they had with the vulgar is almost quite lost. Every wrech, & swearing & drunken beast almost, is ready on the least speach, to cry out on them, which makes many consider Mal. 2. 8, 9. Because you are departed, you have caused many to stumble, *ergo* have I made you contemptible. Good Sir, sympathise with our land, with our visible church. I want time to write to many friends. Salute Mr. & Mrs. Saltonstall, William Spaf., with Robert, &c. Accept hereof instead of many lettres from

Your faithful tho unworthy friend H. Jacie.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Jacyes Letter about Mr. Prinn, Mr. Burton, & Dr. Bastwick."

HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[Fo]r his much Honoured Mr. Winthrop, Governour in Massachusets Bay.

Honoured Sir, — I salute you with Mrs. Winthrop in our Lord Jesus. Though at present I am much streightned in time, yet I would not omitt, though but abruptly, to manifest my respects to you, who have writ more to me about Pædobaptism then any from New England; and though therin at present we agree not, yet meeting in Jesus Christ, our Center, the Way, we shal come to the end of our faith: & I rejoice that the day draws nigh, when the earth shalbe filld with the knowledge of the Lord, & then, when our drosse & stubble shal be consumed, we shal see, each of us, whats amisse, & know whats trueth.

I have sent to Mr. Cotton or Mr. Wilson a book for the Governors, of the present proceeds between the King & Parliament; the King being in hold at the Ile of Wight, where Col. Hamond a godly man is Governor, whom he h [*torn*] told that the time wil come when he must beg his life of him, or his son, &c.

His old attendants are removed, & his liberty streitened. Yet he bears it out, (its said) without appearance of sorow. What great alterations have been in the Army, Parliament, & Kingdome, since the beginning of the 4 month of the last yeer; & upon what grounds the Parliament stood on their guard, came against the city's ill party: what change in the Parliament & what thanks afterward to the Army, for their good service in such proceeds, I having reservd by me, do herewith send to you, judging it would be acceptable, to see the grounds of such proceeds, & the maner;

when all had like to have been enslavd again, after Cavalliers were subdued.

About your law touching Anti-Pædobaptism, what is seriously writ to the Elders to importune you, I besech you, if there be any consolation of the Spirit, any fellowship with Christ, any bowels of mercy, that you with the rest of the Magistrates would consider off, for its desired you might be acquainted therewithall, & might so proceed therin, as you may not have greef, but comfort at that day of Jesus Christ; Mat. 25. 35–41. I have not time to enlarge about that to you. Accept here of from him that must pray, that as you begun well, you may proceed well, in tendernes to Christs lambs & litle ones.

Your friend that would joy in your joy, though of late somewhat sadded by occasion of that law, (as is writ to the Elders). H: Jacie.

12 month Adar, 22. } 1647 year.
vulg. March 6 }

Sir, since my writing this letter, I having received very good news from (lately almost lost) Ireland, & the last relation of our kingdom's affaires, I herewith send it to you.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Jacie, per Firmin, (3) 48."

LETTERS OF EDWARD HOWES.*

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his very louinge ffrinde Mr. John Winthrope, these deliver at Groton.

Deare Sir, — The skillfullest paynters some tymes bestowe theire best colours vpon deformed pictures, and wisely. Some orators, to blazon the vices of some catiffe, speaketh of the contrarie vertues; soe you (accordinge to your gentle nature) haue prouided a vaile to couer my deformitie; that I, daylie seeinge my selfe through it, may thereby appeare the more deformed, and soe seeinge, fall a loathinge, and then (by diuine assistance) leauinge my deformitie, become conformed to what you would haue me, euen to a conformitie of mynd and manners, which as yet I am farre shorte of, though my studie be for such perfection. It hath pleased you to conceiue better of me then euer I could of my selfe, yea, doe for me more then euer I would haue done for my selfe, which maketh my loue (which you call frindshipe) a

* Edward Howes was a most confidential correspondent and devoted friend of John Winthrop, Jr.; but we know little more about him, except what is derived from his own letters. A number of them have already been printed among the "Winthrop Papers," in vol. ix., 3d series, of our Collections. In one, dated March 18, 1632, he states that he had *commenced* "the Studie of the Lawes;" and it is suggested in the notes, that he may have been a student with John Humfrey or Herbert Pelham. But we think the letters here given indicate that his master (as he calls him) was Emanuel Downing. It may be noticed in this connection, that a letter from Rev. Thomas Archisden to Howes, dated Jan. 30, 1631, and printed in the same volume of Collections, is addressed to "Mr. Edward Howes at Mr. Downing's in Fleet street." He was plainly a person of great intelligence and ingenuity, and warmly interested in the welfare of the Massachusetts Colony. He frequently alludes to a disposition and a purpose to come over to New England; but there is no reason for thinking that he ever came. This first letter was written on the return of the younger Winthrop from the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé, and while he was considering some plan of literary or professional life. — Eds.

duty euer vowed to you. I loue to write playnely, for I knowe it pleaseth you, and to displease you, if it weare possible I might, I could not. As for the vniversitie you watt of, what neede you be a scholler there, whereof you are president? I, beinge but a sophisticall studient, studie as I am bound to giue accompt of my tyme. Come when you will, I shalbe fitted with a *plus vltra*, or somthinge, meane while I meane to make holly daye nowe, and then when I can but finde a holy hower, to praye for our prosperous proceedings, which God graunt to his glorye and our comforts, Amen. Grace be with you and him whoe is

Yours EDWARD HOWES.

DIE MARTIS, 10 Noctur. hor. Jan. 22, 1627.

Postscript. Solomons Wisdome, 7 chap. 21 vers: And all such things as are either secret, or manifest: them I knowe.

Dic — Quid lex est illi qui sibi lex est, Lex mihi Onus et Honus, &c.

The fyre cannot destroye whats written in the Harte.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my assured frind Mr. John Winthrop at Groton, these dlr.

SERENISSIMO MIO AMIGO, — Yours came to me *in serena die*, the supposed clouds, with soe gentill a gale of wind, being driuen from the horizon of our auncient yet not old growing amity. Your newes was as welcome, as my thanks is redie to expresse my gratefullnes, for giuinge cause vnto me of newborne, or at least renewed meditations.

I perceiue he whoe trusts most in God and least in man, him will God vndoubtedly assist in all his enterprises. He that trusts in any thing but God, that thinge shall faile him, if not shame him. He that is proude of his knowledge, the simple shall put him to silence, as appeares by your Hadley newes. I would gladlie knowe how he applyed his medicine, which is the rediest waye to conceiue whereof tis made. I joye at your sisters encrease of learninge, *quia ars aurum præstat*, and is the best companion in all estats, it maketh merie when neither honors, frinds nor welth will or can. Would I might become her pupill, and learne her doctrine, for the much desired good of a speciall frind. My master desires you not to come vp vntill you haue concluded your busines, that you may stay some tyme when you come. Let me intreat you to send me a ℞ to molifie Agolyarso* if you can. *Vale in Christo.*

Tuus dum dego, EDWARD HOWES.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his very louinge frind Mr. John Winthrop at Groton these dlr, in Suff.

MONSIER, — All health and saffety to your habitation. I send you many thanks for the receipt, your sister should haue had thanks, had she sent it; she may haue loue, but her charitie was but little; I thanke God I am recouered. Doth she nowe thretten me for my kindnes? be it her pleasure, I will not pertake thereof. I pray you with frindly greeting present my vnchainged frindship to her, and

* This method of secret writing, used frequently by Howes in his correspondence with the younger Winthrop, is read by taking only the alternate letters of the word, commencing either with the initial or second letter, as the case may be. The word in the text will thus read "*glas.*" — EDS.

acquaint her howe I deliuered your letter to Mr. Clarke, whoe saith he had the watch a while, since it was mended, & it went not right, soe the watchmaker hath it againe. He saith I shall haue it next weeke to send it downe, it will cost about 15 or 16 shillings mendinge. Send me word whether Mr. Clarke shall lay out the monie, or I; had it bin done tyme enough it should haue binn sent to your brother to Southampton. I heare he is not yet g[one; ther]e are 4 shipps gone on Wensday senight, (God speede them.) You shall receiue here inclosed a lettre from Mr. Hewson, with whome I was this morne, he tells me the name of the ship is the Thomas & William, of about 200 tunn, she hath some 16 peices. The master, William Bunduck, of Wapping, is a man of very good reporte. She falls downe to Graues end about teussday come senight; it willbe about tomorrowe fortnight ere she will leaue the Thames. She hastens awaye the sooner because of diuerse Turkey marchants companie & assistance. If you knowe of any sturdie youths that will goe seruants for 6 or 7 yeare, they may nowe haue entertainement of Mr. Hewson, or any other that will goe at theire owne charge. There is roome in this ship for 20, and yet they will not carrie aboue 60 passengers, whereas the Talbott carries about 200. Conceiue my inferrence. As for hens, the ship master will carrie them, if you prouide them & theire meate, & send them aborde; but he will not stand to the hazard of them. Mr. Hewson tells me he hath a frind in towne, whoe nowe goes ouer, & whose wife is in Newe Englande, at Salem, & hath store of hens; he s[ai]th you may haue as many as you will there for 2*s* & 6*d*. a peice; but Mr. Hewson saith if you will haue any of this man, he will buy them as for himselfe, & he hopes much cheaper, and your father shall haue them, as he payes; he saith it is as troblesome to carrie ouer turkeys as goats; but if you

The Arabella.
The Talbott.
The . . . . .
The . . . .*

* The "Jewel" and the "Ambrose;" the four vessels being those in which Winthrop and his company embarked for New England. — Eds.

will send them, or rabbetts, with meate for them, the master offers to doe his best to deliver them safe, but not warrant them. Here dyed 11 this weeke of the sicknes, there is 6 parishes infected. I pray God make vs all alwayes readie for our dissolution. Thus with prayers for you as for my selfe, desiringe you there in to assist me

Your louinge frinde, E. Howes.

Peterborough Court in ffleete streete, the 16th of Aprill, 1630.

Direct your lettres to Mr. Tho. Hewson at London Stone, and it is sufficient, he sayth.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my [fr]ind Mr. Joh[n Winth]rop at Groton these deliver. Suff.

Mounsier, — I receiued your first letters but on friday night last weeke, it seemes either the carrier or the porter had forgot it; wherein you writt that I knowe that the letters I sent you were not welcome: beleiue me it was more then I knew, for doe you thinke I would sell my frind for sight of a letter that concerned not me, for so small a trifle? The truth is this, my master he opened your letters, supposing they had come from your father, and seeing the contrarie, presentlie sealed them vp againe. Your letters last weeke and those this weeke I haue sent to Exeter, and the other *secundam formam.* I was with Mr. Kirbie, he hath not receiued the monie, but is promised he shall haue it to morrowe. As for the other *quæ obscurè latet,** I hope to resolue you next weeke; there is a shipp preparinge by Londoners for New England. I shall shortlie speake with some o'the vndertakers, and then you shall know further.

* Mitte mihi vtrum illi juncturam nop facis.

* Et charissimæ tuæ amicæ.

Your cosen Marie and all our frinds salute you.* *Numquam in Balneo Marie puto petram lavare, quia niger nigrior nigro Albissimum ☽ habet: ride, non ride nisi solus, &c.*

Thus salutinge you with my best loue I rest

Tuus dum suus, E. H.

Omnibus tecum salutem,
esse precor. Vale.

Barbara desires Mrs. Vrsula to remember the ruffe & cuffs.

This morninge, being about to seale my lettre, there came an honest man, a Chyrurgeon, on of Mr. Welds perish in Essex, & Mr. Haynes man, to speake with my master, they both Aboraoluggehite myolneerys fiotro* New England. I haue sent them to Onterlamysa.† The Chyrurgeon is an auncient man; he purposeth to goe about Michaelmas next. Mr. Weld hath sent Stuhrierotayo plobugnedaso,‡ the rest as much or more. Ffarewell.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his louinge frind Mr. John Winthrop at his father's house in the Machassetts Bay, these deliver at Boston in New Engeland.

Charissime J. W., — Health to you and to all the Israell of God: as this doth testifie my life & health, soe let it my harte & minde; perswade yourselfe that all the water betweene vs shall not be able to wash away my former professed loue to you, and the place where you are, and to the persons with you, to whome I am obliged in a neuer to be cancelled bond. The bookes Mr. Gurdon hath fetcht away,

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* "They both *brought money for* New England." See note on p. 469. — Eds.
† "Nelms," a seat often mentioned by the Downings. — Eds.
‡ "Thirty pounds." — Eds.

and the *Luna* is at your service; soe is both the books & *Sol, & quodcunque sub sole habet, vel habebit me, tuum.*

I heare your mothers vnkle is dead, and hath left her an 100*li* in his will. Heare is a mutteringe of a too palpable seperation of your people from our church gouernement. Allas, alas, it is not any outward will worship that God requires, but God being a Spirit ought to be worshiped in spirit & truth. There are many guifts by one and the same Spirite, yet not all giuen to one man. Let euery man, as the guift is giuen, continue in his callinge, one to rule, another to convince, another to exhorte, one the guift of healing, another the guift of tongues &c. The eyes cannot performe the office of the hand, nor the eares of the tongue, &c., hence you receiued your being, and best being; in striuinge soe sodainely to be better, may proue to be starke naught. Thus in rude termes I haue exprest my mynde out of at tender regard of the weaknes of your infant state: children suck the brests of theire mothers, stronge meate is for stronge men; I pray God account you and preserue you all as worthy stones in buyldinge his newe Jerusalem, and that ye may be conformable to the head stone Christ Jesus, whoe make ye wise to the salvation of your owne soules, your generations after you, and the poore heathen with you; that ye become not a prey to the spoyler, and your children turne heathen, vncessantly shall pray

Your E: Howse.

I hope my interest in you may procure a shorte relation of your arivall, of your present beinge, and some direction for the disposinge of my selfe, my estate, & affaires here. *Vale in Christo.* E. H.

Peterborough Court, 9° Nouember, 1631.

I haue sould all and meane to followe, *Deo iuvante.*

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my much esteemed frind Mr. John Winthrop the yonger these deliver at Boston in New England.

Worthy Sir, — Vpon the 23th of March last past, with greate joye I opened your letter, but with sorrowe and greife read the same, consideringe the affliction God had layed vpon you. Your letters all I my selfe disperst into the contrie, and deliuered the rest according to the superscriptions, only Dr. Ayleworth I cannot as yet find out. The receipt of morter you shall here receiue, vizt. One man he buylt with this mixture; 2 loads of wast soapashes, one loade of lyme, one loade of loame, and one loade of Woolwich sand, tempered together. An other man vsed only loame & soape ashes tempered together, instead of morter, whereby he layed the foundations, chimnies, and theire tunells &c., of aboue threescore howses in London & the suburbs. I am about to procure all Platt's* workes to be reprinted, or else I would haue sent you my Jewell house of Arte & Nature. I am crediblie informed that clay, otherwise called loame, & horse or cow dunge tempered together, will make an exceeding stronge bindinge morter. I conceiue the manner of buyldinge in Ireland, vizt. to frame the howse and reare it, then with loame & strawe tempered together, to daube both out side & inside to a foot thicknes or more, to be very stronge and warme. I was lately tolde that in Italy men vse to temper ox blood & claye

* Sir Hugh Platt, the industrious author of various agricultural and mechanical works. Harte says of this writer, "Sir Hugh Platt (not to mention his other excellent talents) was the most ingenious husbandman of the age he lived in; yet so great was his modesty, that all his works seem to be posthumous, except the 'Paradise of Flora,' which appeared in the year 1600, when it is probable he was living." See Sir E. Brydges' Censura Literaria, second edition, v. 104–106. — Eds.

together, with which they make floores or walles smooth and glisteringe, and with all that it is very stronge & bindinge. I like well the old English and still Irish buyldinge, where the roome is large, & the chimney or herth in the middest; certainely thereby ill vapour & gnatts are kept out, lesse firinge will serue the turne, and men had then more lusty and able bodies then they haue nowe. I will relate vnto you a pretty and plesant jest of a fellowe in Suffolke, whoe hauinge a shrewish wife, made as though he were a wearie of his like [life]; and went away from her. It was coniectured by all, that he had made away with himselfe, for he could not be found nor heard of in almost a whole winter, and where thinke you this fellowe was all this while? He had made him a howse in his woodstack and buylt it soe artificially with bavins, that it was a farre better & warmer cabin than Diogines' tubb. It seemes he had plotted the busines before hand, and had conveyed there in provision before hand, or else he had some boy or servant of his councell, whoe conveyed provision vnto him, for the waye in was at the topp, and soe artificially archt ouer and hollowed vnder, that it was hard for either wind, frost, snowe, or could to trouble him. Nowe if one man could make this shift of his owne invention, surely some amonge you, if they haue neede, may vse of the like, or some other better, for I heare you haue wood enough. Methinks the southerne or westerne side of a hill, might with small charge be made an habitable place for good people, like the boothes against the Tennis court at Whitehall, especially if it be a rockie & steepe hill. I hearinge of a ship redie to set forward for your coast, could not but ymparte my minde vnto you concerninge this busines. Thus with my wonted loue, & louinge salutations to you and all the rest of my frinds, I rest

Your E. Howes.

26° March 1632.

My letters by Mr. Dudley & by Mr. Winslowe are more large, & the sodaine departure of this ship, euen to morowe, causeth me thus to break of abruptly. *Vale in Christo.*

I haue sent you by this ship the oyle of vitrioll, that you left behind you. It is directed to your father, because of the more safe conveyance thereof. It is in a little double voyall, bound vp in 2 or three course papers.

This afternoone I receiued a letter from John Samford, wherein I vnderstand there is greate hopes of Jo: Sagamore, to be civilized and a christian; I conceiue it were very good, to bestowe respect and honor vnto such as he (petty kings) by giuinge them a scarlet coate, I meane a red coate to weare; or some other vestment in token of his place & dignitie; which other Sachems (of greater command then he) hearinge & seeinge, may thereby be allured to loue & respect the English, in hope & expectation of the like, or in theire conceite more glorious clothinge; and soe you may thereby discouer further into the land, haue more frinds and allies, and by the blessinge of God, it may be a greate meanes of civillizinge the meaner sorte; and after, the revealinge Christ vnto them; for it is a rule in warre, to aime to surprise & captiuate greate ones, and the lesse will soone come vnder, soe winn the hartes of the Sachems and you win all. The wise man saith; guifts blinds the wise, howe m [*torn*] more them that are ignorante & simple, as I thinke all the natiues are [*torn*]. The more loue & respect you shewe to the Sagamores & Sachems, the more loue and feare shall you gaine from the common natiues. I could wonderfully enlarge my selfe vpon this & the like subiect, but that tyme & tide tarrieth for noe man. I haue one thinge more to ymparte, and then I shall conclude.

A receipt of a wholsome & savorie drinke, for such as are sick, weak, or cannot drinke water. ℞ 5 or 6 gallons, or *quantum placet* of water; put to euery gallon a pinte of white wyne and a pretty quantitie of potatoe rootes, which

I suppose you haue good store of; and after 2 or 3 dayes standinge, drinke out halfe, and fill it vp againe with fresh water, and the second drinke wilbe better then the first. *Probat* Mr. Thomson.

This drinke Capt. Drake vsed very often to drinke of in his voyage about the world, and one of the voyage lately told it to me, with the manner as afforesaid. E. H.

Indorsed, "Ed: Howes Jun: 1632."

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Charissimo Amico, — Setting asside all vowes and protestations of my continuing amitie, which would seeme but rather complements then true harted loue, I salute you with good newes in my mouth; that God hath not forgott to be gracious to his church beyond the seas, but hath heard the sighs and grones of his servants, yea, the blood of his saints hath cryed loud for vengance; and wrath since your departure hath come downe furiously vpon the enemies. I need not instance in particulars, for I doubt not but the fame thereof is at this day the talke of all the world; yet to satisfie you a little fullier then by word of mouth, & that your worthy father, with all my louinge frinds, may reead at large the workinge of our God in these latter dayes, here I haue sent you the Swedish Intelligencer* which speakes wonder to the world; withall I haue sent you your Archymedes and an Almenack, with a booke or two of other newes besides. Mr. Dudly went away soe sodainely from vs in the begining of Christmas, that I could not take my leaue of him as I would. I desire ear-

* 1632. See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 90. — Eds.

nestly to heare of your healths and welbeing. Thus Mr. Allerton staying for my letter, I abruptly conclude, with my loues to all my frinds, I rest

Your louing frind E. Howes.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his worthie frinde Mr. John Winthrop the yonger at the Massachusetts bay, these deliver, in New England.

Most noble Frind, — Can a ship passe from our porte, & you expect not letters by it, or shall you receiue letters from others and none from me? Farre be it from me at any tyme to frustrate your expectations, it being the dutie of loue, to be alwayes operatinge towards the beloued; I neede not name you the North Starre, towards which the compasse of myne endevours constantly inclynes, for you partlie knowe it, and the sequell of my life (God sparing vs both life) shall confirme the truth. Although I was ample in my last lettre; giue me leaue to vent the aboundance of myne affection in this defectiue character of expression. True it is, I about a fortnight since writt a letter for you, but some malignant spirit, knowinge thereof, hath stolne it from me, as I conceiue, it being not endorsed to see to whome it was, & what was in it, and now is ashamed to restore it. Therein was nothinge but common newes, and therefore I lesse care for the losse. The shipp beinge thus sudainely departed vpon the end of this Trinity Terme, I could not relate the particulars of my other letter. In breife my father, and mother, & sisters remember them to you, & I would request the fauour of you to present my humble seruice to your honored father & mother, and my respectiue loue and due respects to you & your best beloued, & to Mr. Dudley & his beloued, & to my qoun-

dam frind Mres. E., desiring, for shortnes of tyme, to haue leaue to be remembred alsoe in particular to my louinge frind John Samford and his true loue, and to the rest of my frinds, I rest & remaine

Yours as you knowe E. H.

Caput corui vidi, Lac Virginis quoque vidi, finem denique non ausim videre.

Notitia misterij datur, potestas tamen operationis non datur mihi.

There is a tyme ordained for all things, &c. *Crede & habebis.*

Indorsed, "Mr. Howes: Recd: Octob: 12: 1632."

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

LONDON, *primo Nouembris*, 1632.

SIR, — Yours of the 19 of September I receiued this euening, and could not let slipp to giue you intelligence of the receipt, though this be the third by this ship vnto you; my loue is soe intire vnto you, that all the tyme I bestowe for you I thinke too little. I thanke you for your resolucon concerninge the silke wormes. Mr. Wigens, whome I thinke you knowe, hath fullie resolued me thereof. As for your cement, it is a rare and a strainge request, but shall not be thought impossible, by me to be answered. I haue here sent a very necessary instrument for great ordnance, for John Samford, if you please to bestowe a little looking thereon, you may quickly informe him in the vse thereof. [*torn*] 6d. price. The notches shewe the diametre of the bores, W. P. the weight of the pouder due to euery peice, l. l. the lenght of the ladle, B. L. the weight of the bullett, &c. The otner-side shewes the seuerall names of the ordnance.

I pray thanke James for his letter of the 18th of Sept. last, and for his wiuinge instruccions. Thus with my loue remembred to you, your wife, sisters, brothers, and all our frinds, I committ you to Gods protection, & rest

Tuus dum suus EDWARD HOWES.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his worthilie respected frind Mr. John Winthrop, Junr. at the Mattachusetts in New England these deliver.

DEARE FRIND AND MOST NOBLE SIR, — Deare because fewe the like to me, and truly noble beinge one of the Lords Worthies. Your letter of July last was much welcome, in that it brought tidings of your recouery, and your thriuinge in the wildernes of New England. I cannot as yet satisfie your desire, in sending ouer to John Samford as I would, for you would wonder what discoragements the diuell putts in most mens mouths against your plantations, some that you are all comminge home, others that you are all gone or goinge for Virginia: for my parte, I shall and will by Gods leaue endeauour to continue towards you & the worke *semper idem.* Here in closed you shall find a booke of the probabilities of the North West passage,* not in the

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* The identical copy of the treatise here mentioned is now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a small tract of twenty-six pages, with the following title: "OF THE CIRCVMFERENCE OF THE EARTH: or, A Treatise of the North-weast [the *w* added in manuscript by Howes] passage. Imprinted at London, by *W. W.* for *Iohn Barnes*, 1632." Above the imprint, on the titlepage, is a cipher, containing the letters of the name of Edward Howes, in manuscript. The prefatory address is inscribed, in his handwriting, —

"To the right noble and worthy, religious and vertuous gent. Iohn Winthrop the yonger, all health and felicitie;" and signed, "Yours, E. Hows." On the back of the titlepage is the following, by the same hand: "Happie, thrice happie should I be, if this little treatise should add any thinge to your knowledge, invention, or industrie, to the atcheiuinge of that Herculean worke of the straits of New England, which I am as verilie perswaded of, that there is either a strait, as our narrow seas, or a Mediterranean sea, west from you.

60 or 70 degree of North latitude, but rather about the 40th. I sore suspect the Hollanders will haue the glory and benifitt of the passage about Hudson's River, yet God, the Author and Finisher of all good works, will (I belieue) that all shalbe for the good of his saints. I heare the French haue this summer transported a company of preists and Jesuits and such vermine to Canada; but how longe they will staye there, it is a question. I conceiue the land to cold for theire hott natures.

The vernish for clothes, to keepe out wett, I cannot yet learne, but as soone as I can, the next shipp after shall aquaint you with it. As for my vsuall characters, they are that wherewith I conceiue you haue bin formerly acquainted, vizt. Mr. Arkisdens, whoe hath sent you a letter here inclosed in John Samfords. I though[t] good to send you his character, for feare you should haue forgotten it, as thus

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They are approued of in Cambridge to be the best as yet invented; and they are not yet printed nor comon. You may abreuiate them thus, c. for Christ, ч God, . Jesus, ∩ king, ∪ lord, ○ people, &c. ⁄ stands alwayes for the, ⁄· for thee,) for w. or wh. A little vse will make perfectnes; send me word whether you like it, and I will send you more direccions.

The Dutch, O the Dutch, I doubt will prevent your discouerie, for they are the nearest, of any that haue not as yet discouered it. But doubtlesse there is a man, (or shalbe) sett aparte for the discouerie thereof, thereby to comunicate more freely, more knowingly, and with lesse charge, the riches of the east with the pleasures of the west, and that the east & west, meetinge with mutuall imbracements, they shall soe loue each other, that they shalbe willinge to be disolued into each other; and soe God being manifested in Christ through all the world, and light shininge in thickest darknesse, and that palpable darknesse being expelled, how great & glorious shall that light appeare. Which God of his mercy hasten to accomplish." — Eds.

I thanke you Sir, for remembringe soe farre of when Mr. Saltonstall was with you; by your meanes, and good words of me to him, I haue obtained a most singular sweete frind of him. Euer since Michelmas last, haue I had inward familiaritie with him; he perswadinge me it was your desire that I should imparte my selfe vnto him, on your behalfe, & for the good of New England. I had enlarged myselfe, but that my master called me to write vnto you for him; wherein you shall heare most of our latest newes; I praye you remember my humble seruice vnto your noble father, my most honored frind, and his right vertuous wife, and thanke him for that he hath bin pleased to regard the good will of his poore seruant, in sending him a letter of encouragement, which was more welcome to me then any guift besides. Remember my loueing salutations to your sister Feakes * and her husband, though vnknowne; thanke her for her lettre, and tell her that I went with hir brother in law to Mr. Kirbys, and procurde, in my master his absence, the monie vpon the bill of exchainge. Remember me alsoe to your brother Dudley and his louinge wife, and all others to whome you please to recomend my loue. Thus, though in the last place, yet not in the least place, my harty loue and affections to you and your best beloued remembred, with daylie prayers for your healths and prosperities, I rest

Tuus ex animo et adyto EDWARD HOWES.

FFROM THE INNER TEMPLE, this xxiiith of ixber, 1632.

I haue bespoken instruments for John Samford, but could not gett them made redie against this shipps departure; he shall haue them, the next springe (God willinge) perhaps I may bring them my selfe; but noe more of that, I meane to come vnlookt for, but not, I hope, before I shalbe welcome. The terme is nowe in the full heate thereof, and

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* Mrs. Elizabeth Feakes was sister to John Winthrop, Jr.'s first wife, Martha, daughter of Thomas Fones. — EDS.

therefore I hope you will excuse such defects you find in this expression of my loue, and soe I leaue you to God.

A little more here I send concerninge Dr. Fludd, written in greate haste.

Seale up James Downing[s] lettre and giue it him.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

Worthy Sir, — Here I haue sent you a taste of the famous and farre renouned English man of our tymes, Dr. Fludd, whoe as you may remember published a booke in defence of the weapon salue, before you went ouer, but that is nothinge in comparison of these here menconed, which are all folio bookes, and full of brasse peices, the like I neuer sawe, for engines, fortificacions, and a touch of all opperatiue workes, as you may conceiue by the titles: yet let me tell you this, that the titles, nor my penn, is not able to expresse what is in those bookes, as they are, noe more then you in a map of a sheete of paper, can exactly describe the riuers, creeks, hills, dales, fruite, beasts, fishes and all other things of your contrie; for I thinke it almost imposible for man to add vnto his macrocosme and microcosme, except it be illustration or comment, and that hardly too; his bookes are so bought vp beyond sea, we can gett none brought ouer. Fetherston, the Latine warehowse, nor all London, could, within this moneth, shewe these all together to be sould. I layd out all this last longe vacation for them at Hills in Little Brittaine; who laid out for them for me, and brought them me home compleat, as here you see the titles, which I could with all my harte wish the bookes themselues were in your hands, as certaine as any thing you haue.

I had nowe sent you a catalogue of the marte bookes, but that I would not take any mans busines out of his

hands. The iiii*li.* xii*s.* I had deliuered to Mr. Kirby ere nowe, but that he said he had none vse of it vntill the springe; he called to me for it about a weeke since, when I not dowbting it, had lent it out, but I gaue him then xx*s.* and haue since receiued xx*li*, out of which I intend to pay the remainder, as soone as I can goe to him, or see him. I had though[t] there with (by your leaue) to haue purchased Dr. Fludds works for you, for I doubt within this xii month they will hardly be gotten for x*li.* *Vale in Christo.* Your assured faithfull frind in life till death,

EDWARD HOWES.

The xxiiiith of NOUEMBER, 1632.

Printed at Franckfurt.

Opera R: Fluddi, Medicinæ Dris.

Ao. 1619.

Vtriusque Cosmi maioris silicet et minoris Metaphisica Phisica atque Technica, in duo volumina, secundum Cosmi differentiam diuisa.

Tomus primus,

De Macrocosmi Historia in duos Tractatus diuisa. R: F.

1. *Macrocosmi.*

Tomus primus de Macrocosmi Historia, in duos tractatus.

Ao. 1628.

1. Tractatus primus habet xiii libr.
2. Tractatus secundus de naturæ simia seu Technica Macrocosmi Historia in partes xi diuisa.

2. *Microcosmi.*

Ao. 1619.

Tomus secundus de supernaturali, preter naturali, et contra naturali, Microcosmi Historia in Tractatus tres distributa. Authore R: F.

Tomi secundi tractatus primi,

Sectio secunda de Technica, Microcosmi Historia, in portiones vii diuisa.

Ao. 1621.

Tomi secundi, Tractatus secundus, de præternaturali vtriusque Mundi Historia, in iii sectiones. R. F.

Ao. 1623.

Anatomiæ Amphitheatrum effigiæ Triplici more et conditione varia disignatum.

Monochordum Mundi Symphoniacum, seu replicatio ad Appollogiam Johannis Kepleri.

Ao. 1626. { Philosophia Sacra et vere Christiana, seu Meteorologia Cosmica.

Ao. 1629. { Medicina Catholica seu Misticum Artis Medicandi Sacrarium in Tomos diuisum duos.

Sophiæ cum moria certamen, in quo, lapis Lydius a falso structore Fr : Marino Mersenno, monacho, reprobatus, &c. Ro : Flud.

Ao. 1629. Sumum bonum, quod est verum per Joach : Frisium. { Magiæ, Cabalæ, Alchymiæ } veræ; Fratrum Roseæ crucis verorum } subjectum.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his most respected and worthy ffrind Mr. John Winthrop Junr at the Mattachusetts, these deliver in New England.

Sir, — I though[t] good not to lett passe the aquaintinge you with any thinge that might concerne you or the plantation, though I be neuer soe straightned in tyme. This day, being the 27th of Nouember, and the last but one of the terme, I coming home at noone met 4 men there, that came as they said from Capt. Masons and the Bristoll plantation. I askt them what newes ; Lambert, as I take it his name is, master of the ship, said your father & you and all were well when he left you, but he going vp to deliuer a letter to my master from your father, as I conceiue, I fell into discourse with one of the other, a most egregious knaue, whoe would giue none of you a good word, but the gouernor ; he was a good man & kept a good table, but al the rest were Heriticks, & they would be more holy then all the world ; they would be a peculiar people to God, but goe to the diuell ; that one man with you being at confession, as he called it, said he beleiued his father & mother &

auntestors went all to hell, and that your preachers, in theire publique prayers, pray for the gouernor before they praye for our kinge and state, and that one of the Pascataweyans vowed that if he should heare your minister saye soe, he would stabbe him in the place where he spake it; and that you should haue all your throats cutt by the Indians ere it be longe, for they haue killed some rebbells, and would make an end of the rest, for that you are a people not worthie to liue one Gods earth; that you neuer vse the Lords prayer; that your ministers marrie none; that fellowes which keepe hogges all the weeke, preach on the Saboth; that euery towne in your plantation is of a seuerall religion; that you count all men in England, yea all out of your church, and in the state of damnacion; but I beleiue and knowe better things of you; but here by you may partly see howe the diuell stirrs vp his instruments. Where his kingdome is soe mightily opposed he setts vpon you wilth all [h]is might & maine, and would haue you to be like himselfe, but he that is with you, is greater then he that is against you. Accept this as the token of my goodwill, though I am sorrie to expresse it in these vile and diuelish repetitions; it is to make you the more vigilant and circumspect.

The Kinge of Sueden I heare is slayne:* my other newes you shall haue at large in a letter dated the xxiiith of this moneth. I haue deliuered all your monie to Mr. Kirby. Thus in great hast, being the last daye of the terme, I rest

Yours as I haue bin EDWA: HOWES.

xxviiith IXBER M.DC.XXXII.

Salute all my frinds againe. *Vale optima salute.*

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* Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was killed at the battle of Lutzen, 6 Nov., 1632. — EDS.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his most esteemed frind Mr. John Winthrop Junr. at Boston in New England present these.

Charissime',— The intire respects I euer bare towards you constrayneth me to take all occasions to vent my loue; and more nowe then euer; when as you are become not only a branch in the viniard; but euen a cheife piller to the new Syon; vphold, oh vphold, helpe with councell and seasonable advice to reare the walles; it is noe shame for Israelites to fight with one hand, and buyld with the other; but if I should write a volume to this purpose, it were but water cast into the sea of your aboundant abilities. I write only to manifest my good will, but not to teach; you haue knowne me, and doe knowe me, a man subiect to infirmities; couer therefore all my disrespects of you with the vaile of your loue; and account of me accordinge to my poore abilities Yours, E. H.

A Templo, Quinto Junij 1633.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his highly esteemed ffrind Mr. John Winthrop, Junr. at Boston present the[se], in New England.

SALUS IN CHRISTO DOMINO.

Sir, — Although I haue written vnto you alredie by this shipp, per Mr. Atherton Haugh, and hauinge soe largely exprest my loue to you per your cosen Mary Downinge, yet I could not chuse but as it were seeke newe matter of loue and respect. You shall receiue here inclosed a lettre from Mr. Kirbie, and in a bundle of clothes for your cosen Mary, marked with M: D. you shall find from him a cattalogue of

the last marte bookes; and from your poore frind an exact and large and the latest discouery of the North West passage, made by a painfull and industrious gent., Capt. James,* as a remembrance of my obliged loue. I writt to you by the last shipps, of your vncles remouinge his dwellinge into the Strand, or the Covent Gardein; he hath (and my Mrs.) bin very hott vpon the remoue lately, but I haue in parte, if not altogether, altred theire purpose, and advised them not to remoue, vntill it be to plant themselues in New England, which I hope wilbe next springe. My master hath caused me to put off my chamber in Cliffords Inn againe; and would haue me take his partners parte in the Temple† but whie should I trouble you with these impertinances, only that you may knowe where to send to me, if my master should remoue to you, but before that tyme I hope to see you here. Tis certaine your vncle Gostlyn and aunt will goe ouer with theire family in the springe; and if you come this winter to vs, its very likely you may perswade your Aunt Dow[ning] to goe with them; for your vncle D. he could wish himselfe there nowe; he is neuer better nor merrier then when he is talkinge of New England. Your 100*li* with your vncle Paynter were worth the comming for, and your promise of comminge ouer were worth the performance, it may be you may prevaile that I may goe with you. There is not a question but if the Lorde sees good to send you to vs, he will aboundantly content your paines; I haue heard of 200*li* which was giuen to your mother, which is in the hands of your vncle Tindall, thats worth the fetchinge too; I question not the safety of it, but I conceiue it were better to be ymployed in New England then in Old; and I heare of some lands bought in Suffolke almost a

* "The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James, in his intended discovery of the North West passage into the South Sea," &c. London, 1633. — Eds.

† We are to buyld them new this sommer. My master said lately he had rather be buylding at Boston in New England. — Howes.

yeare since,* but I haue not heard your vncle Downing speake of any rent he hath as yet receiued; perchance you may deeme me too bold, to medle with that I haue nothinge to doe with; but I conceiue you my frind to be (*Alter idem*) and what concernes you concernes me, either to pertake of your joye or sorrowe. There is a pretty youth, brother to Sarah, your sister Feaks maide, that hath much desired to spend his dayes in New England. He is a pretty good clarke, and as I heare hath liued a yeare or two with a Common law Attorney; this youth (his name is John Sandbrooke) my master thought good to preferre him to your worthie father, to whome he is bound for five yeares; my mistress was intreated by his father (who hath noe other sonne but he) to write to your father about him; and I speakinge of writing to you, he intreated me to procure you to take a little notice of him, and encorage him in goodnes. I neede not advise you to take a man or boye, for I knowe you are able enough to knowe what is best for your selfe; and for ought I knowe you may haue diuerse Indian boyes, which are, or may be in tyme, necessary seruants. Before I end, I must not forgett to put you in minde of one that is cominge to you, whoe hath deserued exceedingly of your father & the plantation, many wayes; he discouered (under God) our enemies plotts, and helpt to prevent them; he hath also dispossest our enemies of their hope, Pascataqua, and intends to plant him selfe and many gracious men there this sommer. Noe doubt but this may be and wilbe by diuerse in this shipp reported to you; but out of the mouth of diuerse witnesses the truth is confirmed. I haue, and you all haue cause to blesse God that you haue soe good a neighbour as Capt. Wiggen. I could spend my dayes in shewing my respects to you. Mr. Arkisden is very well, and hath bin steward of his colledge; and is nowe in the very acte of commencing Master. Mr. Salton-

My master told him before he bound him that he must follow old Adams trade; which he freely consented vnto.

* I haue heard my master say he neuer saw the conveyance. — Howes.

stall & Mrs. Meriall Gurdon are to be married next weeke, here in towne, *et signum perderit pudicitiæ fertur in domus thalamo nostri;* ffor my parte I am as farre from marrying as euer I was; yet I should be loath to goe to New England without one. Thus with my humble seruice to your noble father and good mother, and my due and respectiue loue to your louing wife and your selfe; and my salutes to your sister Feaks, and sister Dudley, and theire husbands; and to my louinge frind Mr. Samford and his wife: remember me alsoe to your cosen Ma: Dow[ning] and Susan and James; not forgetting your brothers, and all the rest of my louinge frinds. With most hartie wishes and prayers for all your healths and prosperities, and grace & fauour with the Lorde Christ, to whose guidance & keeping I committ you & rest Yours as you knowe E. Howes.

Inner Temple, the 22th of June, 1633.

The harts of all Gods people here are all bent towards your Syon; and from all parts of the land they are goinge vp by flocks to *New Salem* Jerusalem to worship: helpe me to you with your prayers; or, if the Lorde see good, that I may to his glorie suffer here.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the worshipfull his assured frind John Winthrop, esq. Junr. at Boston in the Mattachusets Baye, present these, in New England.

Sir, — This is the fifth or sixth lettre to you since I receiued any from you, the post it may be hath lost your packett. I hope you will not say I haue bin a niggard of my paper and paines, if they all come safe (as I wish they may) to your hands, and as it is said *nulla dies sine linea*, soe I may say *nullum tempus sine occasione*, theres noe tyme

but it offers occasion of loue and seruice towards you. I was requested by Mr. Sandbrooke (whose only sonne he hath sent as seruant to my noble frind your worthy father) to write to you to showe some fauour to the ladd; as alsoe that Mr. Gouernour will be pleased to consider that he is sent to him, with all or most necessaries, as alsoe his passage paid for by his father. I told Mr. Sandbrooke that he need not doubt but it would be taken notice of, and remembred when his sonne comes out of his tyme. It much reioyces our harts here that the Lord sends forth such store of labourers into his viniard; they flock to you euen from Dan to Bersheba; from Plymouth to Barwick.

Sir Hugh Platts engine that you and I haue bin often hammeringe about, to boyle in wooden vessells, is now come to light, and I hope wilbe with you as soone as this letter: my master hath bin at the cost of making one, and wee tryed it in our parlor; it will doe verie well, but it being in its infancie, had need of such mature Mathematitians as your selfe to bringe it to perfect proportion & strength; now you haue the hint and waye of it, *facile est addere.*

You shall alsoe receiue in this shipp 3 woolfe doggs & a bitch, with an Irish boy to tend them; for the doggs, my master hath writt sufficiently, but for the boye thus much. You haue bin in Ireland, knowe partlie the Irish condition; this is a verie tractable fellowe, and yet of a hardie and stout corage; I am perswaded he is very honest, especially he makes great conscience of his promise and vowe. I could wish (for as much as I haue seene by him) you would take him to be your seruant, although he be bound to your father for fiue yeares. At his first comminge ouer he would not goe to church, nor come to prayers; but first we gatt him vp to prayers, & then on the Lord's day to catachise, and afterwards very willingly he hath bin at church 4 or 5 tymes. He as yet makes conscience of fridayes fast from flesh; and doth not loue to heare the Romish religion spoken against, but I hope with Gods grace he will become a good convert. *Converte gradatim.*

Sir, I dare boldlie saye it is as much honor for you to winn this fellowes soule, out [of] the subtillest snare* of Sathan, as to winn an Indians soule out of the Diuells clawes. Pardon my zealous boldnes, for I doubt not but you shall enioye abundantly the sweete fruits of your labours this waye. As for his fittnesse to be a member of your church; its well if the Lord worke it in 3 or 4 yeare, yet he can doe it sooner if he please. The fellow can reede and write reasonable well, which is somwhat rare for one of his condition; & makes me hope the more of him.

Concerninge the vernish for clothes & the ceament for earthen vessells; I conceiue the vernish nowe in vse is not that which Sir H: Platt speakes of, or if it be, it is very little or not at all vsed here in towne, in rany wether or in winter, which makes me doubt of the device. As for the cement, I am told by the most profound artist and naturalist here in this cittie, that he can make such a cement out of an animall, but he would not teach it at any rate, and if he should make any, it would be deare, soe that I doubt (if all be true as he sayes) the cure wilbe worse then the disease; it would not quitt cost to make it, if we knew it. This Dr., for a Dr. he is, braggs that if he haue but the hint or notice of any vsefull thinge not yet invented, he will vndertake to find it out, except some few, which he hath vowed not to medle with, as *Vitrum maliabile, perpet. motus, via proxima ad Indos, & Lapis philosi:* all or any thinge else he will vndertake, but for his priuate gaine, to make a monopolie thereof, and to sell the vse or knowledge thereof at too high rates.

As for other newes we haue little, Mr. Davenport hath left London; and its said Mr. Nye will follow him; some say they bend theire thoughts towards your Plantation: I know not how soone or how longe it wilbe ere I shall see you. I doe longe to see New England, but the Lord sees

* Romes pollitick Religion. — Howes.

that I am vnworthie and vnfitt to come amonge you as yet, otherwise then in some few scrawles of paper. Remember vs as we doe you in our prayers, and present my humble seruice to Mr. Gouernor and your good mother. Present my loue and respects to your selfe & your second selfe, together with all our good frinds with you, whome God preserue, & so I take leaue and rest

Yours as he would be or should be

EDWARD HOWES.

QUINTO AUGJ: hora 12ª noctis, 1633.

Sir, I am willed per my master to acquaint you that Mr. Sewall had deliuered to his vse in New England, one of my master his cowes, for which he was to pay 15*li*, whereof my master cannot gett a penny, therefore he desires that notice might be taken, that Mr. Sewall hath a cowe of his vnpaid for, which he desires may be restored againe, if Mr. Sewall will not haue her; but herein let there be nothinge done, vntill Mr. Gouernour heares from my master.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his very good frind Mr. John Winthrope the yonger at Boston, present these [*in*] *New England.*

SIR, — Not to enlarge your title with an Epitaph, for all the deseruinge adiuncts that possiblie I could devise were little enough to expresse your deserts and to manifest my loue. Although I haue by this shipp sent you a lettre dated a weeke since, wherein I made mention of the instrument that Sir H: Platt writes of, to brue with all; whose words were, that by the helpe of it one myght brue in wodden vessells, & alsoe as you may remember, if the element of water had not more power ouer the vessell of wood, then the fyre, one vessell might last 100 yeares; which in-

strument my master caused to be (whose right name is a furnace) and sent to your father; but being the first, the workeman could not hitt right, wherefore another was since made, and being brought home Sir R: Saltonstall would needs buye it. I conceiue tis farr stronger & better wrought then the first; but what benifitt will these furnaces be to the Plantation, seing you haue aboundance of wood? We conceiue and hope the best, & leaue it to your tryall.

The dogg in a wheele that my master writt off, to turne another wheele, and soe to cause the bellowes to blowe, I cannot well fancie; because the fire needs not a constant blowinge, but a blowinge by fitts, as in black smyths and gold[s]myth workes; sometymes faster, sometymes slower, which a dogg will not, nor can not doe; nowe my master calls me to write to you for him about the same matter. Yet I haue one thinge more to write to you of, and that is you wilbe pleased to expresse your approued loue to me, soe much as to husband for me ten or 20*li* in the layeing out vpon cow calues of a yeare old or older; and putt them out to some honest man whome you thinke fitt, to keepe to halues or otherwise as you thinke best: if you please to advise yourselfe to laye out more for my benifitt, vpon notice thereof from you I shall very thankefully repaye it, either in monie, goods, or seruants, or what you will; for I see I shall be driuen to come to you sooner then I made account of; and I desire to haue some stock there, though it be but a small one, tis better then none at all. Mr. Robert Saltonstall hath giuen me one of his breeding rabitts, a black one with a white streake downe the nose, which he with others nowe sends ouer:* if it dye I am to haue another, and he hath promised to write to his brother Samuell to sett the breede of that or one other apparte for me; I refused this kindnes vntill his importance forced it

* He made me paye for store of foode for the rabitt in her passage. — Howes.

on me. He hath alsoe vpon some considerations promised me a sowe pigge, and the keepinge of her and her increase from hence for 3 yeares, by which tyme I hope to come ouer; if I can gett of Sir Robert a kidd or a calfe, I shall thinke my selfe reasonablie well rewarded of him for my paines. As for a house for me, I hope I shall with you or Mr. Sandford find a wadd of strawe to lye on vntill I may buye or buyld a howse; I heare from you noe comendations of a tent, which I conceiue to be a necessary thinge with you. A man may buye one here for about ten pounds, and the fraight to you wilbe but small. I hope you haue longe since heard that I paid Mr. Kirbie the 4*li* 12*s*. I had of Mr. Gurdon for your law bookes.

Thus desiringe you to thinke vpon your poore frinde, in what maye be for his good, whoe prayes daylie for your health and prosperitie, and desires to present his seruice to your good wife and your selfe, and sister Ffeakes and sister Dudley with theire husbands, and to remaine

Yours euer to commande EDWARD HOWES.

PETERBOROUGH COURTE in Ffleete streete, the 13 of August, 1633.

Nowe I thinke we shall not remoue from hence vntill it be to you, which God speede.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my very good frind Mr. John Winthrop at Agawom, these present, in New England.

WORTHY FRIND, — Yours of June, August, and September I haue receiued since my last to you, as alsoe the otter skinn you sent me; for which, as for your many other reall fauours, I most hartily thanke you. According to your direction I haue receiued 55*s* 2*d*. of Mr. Kirby, which I haue laid out for you, as may appeare by this inclosed.

For Dr. Fludd's workes, there is since more come forth of him, as by the back of my accompt. I haue sent you only a taste of him, in two volumes; I conceiue they are well drest for your pallate. I haue bin held in hand at Mr. Fetherston's shop by his men, euer since 8ber, to be furnished with all those bookes you writt for, and now am forced to buy them where I can find them; I can gett noe others but what I haue sent you vntill next marte.

As for your quodling slipps, I hope against Michaelmas next I shall haue some to send you, for now tis noe sending them. I haue made bold to putt a few other bookes to fill vp spare roome in the box; whereof one is the Contrie farme, which I suppose you haue alreadie, if you haue, be please[d] then to let Mr. Samford haue myne, or whome else you please. If you haue it not, be pleased to accept it as a pledge of my constant loue and respects to you. Thus much concerninge your box of bookes which you shall receiue of Mr. Dillingham directed to you and marked with ☧. You shall haue me more large in my next, either by Mr. Humfries or before; in the meane tyme be pleased to present my respect to your best beloued & to yourselfe, and euer comand

Your true though poore frind EDWARD HOWES.

29° MARTIJ, 1634.

From our new howse in Lincolne's Inn feilds by the Lyon Tauerne neere Princes streete.

Sir, A very good frind of myne, Sir Symon Harcourts brother, desired me to convey this inclosed to his frind, by some trusty hand; I pray let me make bold that at best leasure, by one of your seruants or otherwise, it may be deliuered to Mr. Coggeshall.

I haue not had leasure to visit Mrs. Waterhowse as yet, at Easter next, if not sooner, I intend to present your respect vnto her. *Vale in Xto.*

[*The following paper is enclosed in the preceding letter.*]

Rec. of Mr. Kirby 55*s.* 2*d.*

The bookes I haue sent you, March, 1634.

2 Catalogues of printed bookes.

	li.	*s.*	*d.*
Dr. Fludds Macrocosme in 2 volumes	1	10	0
Isagoge Phisico Magico &c.	0	1	6
Petrus Galatinus de Arcanis Catholicæ veritatis .	0	10	0
Phillippi Grulingij Florilegium	0	2	0

These are parte of them you writt for.

I haue here alsoe sent you a few others, which if you like not, I pray send them againe, or any of them.

Mercurius Rediuiuus per Norton	0	2	6
The Rarities of CochinChina *	0	1	0
Wingates Logarithmes	0	4	6
An English Grammer	0	1	0
The Gunners Dialogue	0	2	0
Bedwells Messolabium	0	1	0
The box to put them in	0	0	10
Carrying them to the warehowse	0	0	8
	2	17	0

The rest I cast in to the bargaine, for you and your fancie to make merry withall.

29° Martij, 1634.

Integrum Morborum Misterium siue Medicinæ Catholicæ Tomi Primi tractatus secundus, in sectiones distributus duas. Quorum Prior generallem morborum natura, &c. Vltima, Vniuersale medicorum siue ægrotorum depingit Catoptron: &c. Francofurti A° 1631. Authore Ro: Flud, alias de Fluctibus.

This is a new Booke and is now betweene 20 and 30*s.* price. Dr. Fludd is of farr more esteeme beyond sea then at home.

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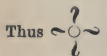
* A copy of this work, "Cochin-China, containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Countrey," from the Italian of Barri, by Robert Ashley, London, 1633, is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; upon the titlepage of which the name of "E. Howes" can be distinguished, although nearly erased. — Eds.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much esteemed frind John Winthrop esquire at Agawom present [*torn*]

Waobretahoy Stitra Agawom Sagamore,

Aus Neost flourigreathinnog obuor whoinatreid meagniedra olfa wortinthienag.* Giue me leaue, in plaine English, the second tyme this springe to present my vnfeigned respects to you in a few lynes. I sent you per Mr. Dillingham soe many of the bromoiklets† you writt for, as I could procure for the present, but I am promised the rest this sommer, and then by the next followinge they shalbe conveyed to you. The noelwo frudrinnamcle I writt to you of is mourcah ilmaportouvoend, wiheeproeloaf I haue speinato yaoduir tohie frogrimoe haetrie ionacoltoisteud.‡ I haue learnt two devices to kill wolues, one is with peices of spunge laid couertly in such flesh or garbage they feed on; the other is certaine peices of stronge wyer twisted together, ether 4, or 3, or 2 peices, and the ends to be bowed and fyled sharpe, and beards cutt in them like fish hookes; and them put within theire meate.

Thus 

There is one alsoe here in towne that makes very good Shanlota prestheir waidtoh Vortimnoe agnud cloimnoan Ebafretah.§ I am verie much abashed that I haue not all this while procured you the salue and plasters you writt for, you partlie knowe my nature. I had rather effect any busines with ten men, then one woman, yet your intrest in me might be sufficiently effectuall to mannage a farre more weighty busines; and assure your selfe, I will ere

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* "Worthy Sir Agawom Sagamore, As not forgeting our wonted maner of writing." See note on p. 469. — Eds.

† "Bookes." — Eds.

‡ "The new furnace I writt to you of is much improved, whereof I haue sent you the forme here inclosed." — Eds.

§ "Salt peter with Vrine and comon Earth." — Eds.

longe comaund my selfe in that perticular. As for the Quodling apple slipps, I spake to Mr. Humfries once or twice about it, and he sayd he would see for some. I hope he will bring some ouer with him, and yet I doubt it, because it is soe forward in the yeare. Thus with the continuance of my respects, loue and seruice to you and your best beloued, I take leaue and rest

Yours as God shall enable me EDWARD HOWES.

From our new howse in Lincolnes Inn feilds, neere Princes Streete, the 18th of Aprill, 1634.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my much honored frind Mr. John Winthrope at Ipswich present these, in New England.

MY MOST DEARE FRIND, — In hope & confidence of your safe ariuall, together with your best beloued, whome I salute as your selfe; I knowe you expect a lettre, though I haue but small matter to write of, I dare not frustrate your expectations. I haue bin 2 or 3 tymes since with the Dr., and can gett but small satisfaccion about your queries. I doubt he hath some preiudicate conceipt of one of vs, or both; yet I must confesse he seemed verie free to me, only in the maine he was misticall. This he said, that when the will of God is you shall knowe what you desire, it will come with such a light, that it will make a harmonie amonge all your authors, causing them sweetly to agree, and putt you for euer after out of doubt & question. To discerne the *fratres scientiæ*, I cannot as yet learne of him. I am very shortlie to take my jorney, soe that I must here breake of, hauing other occasions, & noe matter of importance to acquaint you with all, I rest

Yours as you knowe E. H.

21° AUG. 1635.

I thinke I shall helpe you to one of the magneticall engines which you & I haue discoursed of, that will sympathize at a distance.*

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

London 21° Junij 1636.

Fidelis Amicus, — Since I receiue[d] yours of the 9th of Nouember and the 6th of January, I saluted you with a few lines, but in regard of theire farre jorney, & the dainger of miscariage in the passage, my loue to you constraines me to acquaint you with some generall & particuler affaires, namely that the plague, sword, & famine looks with a gashly aspect vpon Germany & other our neighbour nations, and begins to peepe vpon vs soe frightfully, that mens harts faile them for feare, and many 1000ds runne they know not whither. Tis reported that about 57,000 people haue left this citty & suburbs, within this 3 moneths. I thanke my God he hath taught me to turne
Gen: 3. to him, & not to hide my selfe, or runne from him. I haue resolued to trye it out here. The Dr. I haue not seene since last Sommer; I doubt all is not gold that glisters like it, and he that would learne to distinguish, may pay too deare for his knowledge. I thinke there is not any thinge that the Dr. hath or knoweth, but a frind of myne neerer home enioyes as much; I could wish you with him, or he with you, for a moneth or two; but seing the Diuine Prouidence hath disposed it otherwayes, I hartilie desire you to be fully content with your allowance, and thanke God; whether you haue more or lesse, let it be all one to you; let not what God doth, trouble you; but what you doe contrarie to God; I pray present my best respects to your father & mother, & to Mr. Humfries, when you see

* This would almost seem like a foreshadowing of the magnetic telegraph. — Eds.

them, and to your dearest, & your selfe, &c., praying for the prosperitie of the whole Church of God amonge you, I take leaue, & rest Yours assured Ed: Ho:

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my verie louinge frinde Mr. John Winthrop the yonger these present at Conectecut, with trust, in New England.

Mi Charissime, — Yours of the 9th of Nouember, and of the 6th of January last I haue receiued, and haue since sent you two lettres, which I hope will kisse your hands before this. The manie obligations where with you haue tyed me to you being soe pleasant & delightfull, doe constraine me to sue, to be more fast tyed. I cannot discouer into *terram incognitam*, but I haue had a kenn of it shewed vnto me. The way to it is (for the most parte) horrible & fearefull, the daingers none worse, to them that are not *destinati filij;* somtymes I am trauelling that way, but the Lord knowes when I shall gett thither, soe many flattering foes are still in the way to preuent me, and diuerte my course. I thinke I haue spoken with some that haue bin there. I am informed that the land lyeth where the sunn riseth, and extendeth it selfe southward, the northerne people doe account it noe better then a wilderne*s; and the spies that they haue sent out to discouer & view it, haue reported as much: for they knew it was in vaine to reporte better of it.* Deare frind, I desire with all my harte that I might write plainer to you, but in discouering the misterie I may diminish its maiestie, & giue occasion to the prophane to abuse it, if it should fall into vnworthie hands: in many things you haue sympathized with me, and whie

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* Four lines obliterated here. — Eds.

not in this? After the hint of a thing, *facilius est addere.* Let me make a Quere. Was the bodie made for the soule, or the soule for the bodie? Was the house made for man, or man for the house? Doe or did the true louers of wisdome, studie more for the bodie, then the soule? Did they not know the man?* The [bod]ie is but our seruant, & shall our studies for it take vp our endeuours as for [*torn*] Is it not spirituall fornication & adulterie to cast the eye of our mind & harte vpon sensualitie, or any sensible good, as to lust after it? Must not the fiue kings be vanquisht & hung vp, before Israell can enter into the rest of the Lord? which rest I wish vnto you, & rest

Yours Ed: Ho.

4° Aug: 1636.

I pray let me not be forgotten of any frind, whome you thinke worthie to be put in minde of me; but salute them in my name as if I had named them vnto you.

I haue not seene Dr. E: since last sommer: our frinds at the old house are all well, & are nowe either at Graves or Groton; your aunt D: hath bespoken a black marble grauestone for your grandsire & grandmother. There dyed in & about London of the plague this weeke 181. There is great mortall[ity] in our land in diuerse places, & in other places beyond the seas, and in Germanie there is a great famine. Prince Thomas, the King of Spaines brother, hath ouer runn all Pykardy, and burnt 100 villages in 4 howers. He threatens that his next attempt shalbe vpon Paris it selfe. The commons of France begin to mutinie against the gentrie, & the Spaniard where he comes doth reape the Frenches corne for them, & they themselues in some places haue burnt theire standing corne, rather then the Spaniard should haue it. My hartie affections salute you & your best beloued. *Vale Xto.*

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* A line erased here. — Eds.

3° SEPT. 1636.

This lettre hauing lyene written a moneth in my hands, I was about to cancell it, because I could not send it, but vpon second thoughts I spared it. The Falcon is safe come to vs, but not one lettre to me in it, as I heare of. I mett with one of Captaine Wiggins seruants that came ouer, whoe told me of such things he knew. I doe much applaud your resolution to plant Conectecut. Fortifie the mouth meanely well, but except you can find a place there naturally fortified, in the water as Venice, or on the maine as Douer, bestow not too much cost & paines vpon it; rather goe vp further (leauing a garison belowe): learne by reports & your owne obseruation where (on that Riuer) the natiues haue liued longest & healthfullest, and in greatest aboundance, though it be 50, 60, or 70 or more miles vp in the land; if any be there, gett theire good will, if possible you can, to sitt downe with them or by them; howesoeuer be as neere as may be, soe it be a place comodious for trade & husbandrie, and not easilie surprized by an enimie. But you may say its easie to sitt vpon a cushion & direct, but difficult to performe. I doe not speake of ympossibilities, but giue caution for a good begining & foundation, that hereafter it may not be said *Pœnitet*, or had-I-wist. A busines wel begun is plesant & hopefull. The best wilbe therefore to begin with God, which I doe not doubt but you will, and seeke his directions, howe and where you may lay a foundation for a Cittie of Peace, to the honor of His great name, in your religious cohabiting together; and soe that you may prepare & prouide conuenient & comfortable dwellings & portions for your future generations, that they may haue cause to blesse God in theire harts, for your labours of loue.

I shall not need to request of you some knowledge of your plantation, & howe farre you haue discouered the riuer, & howe you like it, & what newes of the Lake, & how farr you are from the Dutch, and from Boston. I am

perswaded you will acquaint me with that which you thinke is fittest for me, and reserue for me the rest vntill a seasonable tyme: only this I would gladly see, a Mapp of the longe Iland & the coast from Cap Cod to Riuer Hudson [if] you haue one to spare. My father & mother salutes you with theire loue, and soe doe my sisters. Your Brother Dr.* was wel lately, he was with me. There dyed this last weeke in & about London of all diseases 855, & of the Plague 536, besides aboue 100 in Westminster and contrie parishes adioyninge, but howe many 1000 amonge vs are dead in theire sinns I knowe not, yet noe doubt we haue a remnant that haue not bowed theire knee to Baal. For my parte I doe, as much as in me lyes, commend & committ my soule to God in wel-doeing, and ventre my bodie amonge the liuing & dead. But I doubt I haue bin too tedious and troublesome, it's my loue to you constraineth me to write the more, because we cannot speake together. I hope your remotenes from the Bay will not hinder the entercourse of lettres betweene vs.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

21° March: 1637.

My Ffrind, &c. — Yours of the 1st of August last I received, and alsoe the Mapp of the Coast about Pequot, for which & former kindnes I thanke you. The relation of your fight with the Indians I haue read in print, but of the fight amonge yourselues, *Bellum linguarum*, the strife of tongues, I have heard much, but little to the purpose. I wonder your people that pretend to knowe soe much, doe not knowe that Loue is the fulfillinge of the Lawe, and that against Loue there is noe Lawe. But noe marvell:

* Probably Dr. Samuel Reade, brother of Winthrop's wife. — Eds.

when many haue not the begining* of wisdom in them; and howe can they that feare not God, keepe his commandements or fulfill them? but I hope when I come to find more vnitie, peace & loue. The *terra incognita cognita est paucis, arcanum Jehouæ adest reuerentibus ipsum;* to tell you my thoughts or knowledge of it, its neither earth, water, aire, nor fire, nor æther, soe that its beyond sence, or my expression, but to giue you an intelligible taste, its lesser then the least, it cannot be diuided nor comunicated, its bigger then the bigest, for its perfect, its beyond the highest, and below the lowest, for thought cannot reach it, if you knowe it I need not tell you it, if I speake in an vnknowne tongue, I doe but beate the aire. Your Aunt D: can informe you of my dwellinge, where I shalbe glad to heare from you, that I may continue to be, as I desire, *Tuus vt possim.* E. H.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Ed. Howes with a parable."

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his much esteemed frind Mr. John Winthrop Junr. at Boston in the Massachusetts Bay or elsewhere in New England these dlr.

Sir, — Yours I receiued, with 2 relations of monstrous births† and a generall earthquake.‡ When I had read them, they seemed to me like Pharaoh's dreames; but whoe can tell certainely wherefore God sent them? where is there such an other people then in New England? that labours might & maine to haue Christ formed in them, yet

* "The feare of the Lord." — Howes.

† See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 271–273. — Eds.

‡ The earthquake of June 1, 1638, is mentioned by Winthrop, Bradford, and Johnson; and was felt very generally in the several New-England Colonies. It is also noticed by Roger Williams, in a letter printed on p. 229 of this volume. See Winthrop's Hist. of N.E., i. 265; Bradford's Hist. of Plym. Plant., p. 366; Wonder-working Providence, p. 131. — Eds.

they would giue or appoynt him his shape, & cloath him too. It cannot be denyed but we haue conceiued many monstrous imaginations of Christ Jesus, the one imagination sayes loe, here he is; the other sayes loe, there he is; multiplicitie of conceptions, but is there any one true shape of Him? and if one of many produce a shape, tis not the shape of the sonne of $\frac{\text{God}}{\text{man,}}$ but an vglie horridd Metamorphosis, neither is it a liuinge shape, but a dead one, yet a crow thinkes her owne bird the fairest, and most preferre theire owne wisedome before Gods, Antichrist before Christ; to you I write, with whome I may be bold; and is't a wonder the Earth should quake at this? O Earth, Earth, Earth, heare the voyce of the Lord, a still silent voyce, yet where it comes it maketh the mountaines to quake, and the hills to tremble.

The bookes you writt for, I haue not mett with them as yet at the shopps where I haue bin; I could wish you some bookes, but one booke were enough, if you could come by it, its written within and without, its calld by many names, but it is not knowne by the names, but to those that have the nature thereof: to giue you the name and nature in a word, its THE BOOKE OF LIFE, where you may read all within you, and all without you; and Him that is all in all; to whose protection I leaue you & rest

et est Elixir Vitæ

Your frind in the best I may EDWARD HOWSE.

CURSISTORS COURTE neere Lincolnes Inn, the 14th of Aprill, 1639.

Pray present my loue to your best beloued wife. My father & mother are in health & salute you, so doth my wife, vnknowne to you, but by my relation; we should be glad to see you at our habitacion, if your affaires drawe you to London. For newes, I refer you to the vulgar Athenians. *Vale.*

Shall I hide any thinge from my friend? Read this to Mr. J: S. and doe with it as you please. If it may doe him or any other, good: God speed it.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my verie louinge frind Mr. Jo: Winthrop at his house in Salem or elsewhere in New England these dlr.

Sir, — To tell you *quid scribitur, quid agitur de terra ista Adamica fere incognita*, what I heare, what I see, what I knowe, would be as tedious for you to read, as for me to write; but to tell you where I am, & what I doe, & when you shall see me, is a shorter worke. My bodie is at London, my soule in my bodie, and my mind in my soule, &c. and if you will, in mind I am and canbe euery where; while I am writing this lettre, I am with you, and what doe I? Outwardly I am writing, inwardly I am meditatinge; and still with you, and doe you aske when you shall see me? If you know not I will tell you. When you can see your selfe, or you & I all one; longe since you termed me *Alter idem*, and will there neuer be an vnion thinke you? Because I account few words best, I haue sent you a little booke or two more by Mr. Kirbies sonne and by the way . . . tell you that you . . . . . after Phil . . . . . openly, and . . . . . doe with Phil. th . . . . [*seven lines mutilated*] . . . . . your father . . . . . when it hath . . . . . whereof I conceiue . . . . . more then one, there is all goods to be found in vnitie, and all evill in duallitie & multiplicitie. *Phœnix illa admiranda sola semper existit*, therefore while a man & she is two, he shall neuer see her. The Arabian Philos: I writt to you of, he was styled among vs Dr. Lyon, the best of all the ✿†ns* that euer I mett with all, farre beyond Dr. Euer: they that are of his straine are knowing men; they pre-

* Rosicrucians. — Eds.

tend to liue in free light, they honor God & doe good to the people among whome they liue, and I conceiue you are in the right that they had theire learninge from Arabia. But they come much shorte of the people that haue theire learninge from heauen, from God, from the Sonn of his Loue, such I meane as are liuinge men, whose life & conversation caracterizeth them, & not theire knowledge; for 'tis written (& we beleiue) knowledge puffeth vp, and Loue buyldeth vp; they haue knowledge as much as any, but it is not theire essence, theire life, theire All ☉. But more of this hereafter; and for other newes I referre you to your sister Fek . . . . . ke you for conveyinge . . . . . you liue, doe, ... sts true disciple, ... ght, doe as he doth . . . What can I say more? ☉ Remember my humble service to your father & mother, & my louinge salutations to all your brothers & sisters, and to Signior Humfries, Mr. Rich: Saltonstall, &c. Haue with this as much loue as a man can yeild to his frind, & the Lord giue you a right vnderstanding in all things; this is & shalbe the harty prayer of

Your euer louinge frind EDWARD HOWSE.

25ᵒ FFEBR: 1639.

Direct your lettres to me neere Lincolns Inn.

Coats lyned with fur . . . among gent. I pray helpe me to some Otter or . . . . winter, as may lyne me a coate, & I will retorne . . . ey or bookes. *Vale in Xto.*

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Howes."

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

London, May 12, 1640.

Deare Sir, — Yours of the 16th of March last, this day I received per Mr. Kirbie, and am sorrie to vnderstand by you and him, that the vnfaithfull steward hath mett with you or your fathers estate; I could wish my selfe with you (till the storme here be ouer) but I doubt I should be in the stewards case, though not vnfaithfull yet vnproffitable, for I cannot digg, and to begg I shalbe ashamed; nor howe to ymproue that little God hath lent me, if I were with you; for Lawyers and Phisitians haue noe gaine with you, & I thinke Clergie men as little, vnlesse they be such as shall speake & doe to please men, hauinge an excellent forme of Godlikenes, but denye the power thereof. But my good frind; the word saith; Godlienes is greate gaine, if a man be content with that which he hath; tis to you I write this, as to a frind whome I entirely loue. As for the Magneticall instrument you writt of; it is alsoe sympatheticall, and therefore magneticall; we vse to say good witts iumpe, though heads touch not; many can say soe, some find it soe, but fewe enquire into the true reason whie it is soe. I haue sent you a booke by Jo: Tinker, that will sett your witts on wollgatheringe, or rather to shew you howe some mens witts runne a wollgatheringe, vntill, like the Astronomer gazing vpwards, doe fall into the pitt of death. I know the gent: one Mr. Wilkins* of Maudlin Hall in Oxon made the booke; and

* Rt. Rev. John Wilkins, a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford; afterward chaplain to Lord Say; and successively Warden of Wadham College, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and consecrated Bishop of Chester, Nov. 15, 1668. He was noted as a philosophical and mathematical writer of great talents and acquirements, and was an early and active member of the Royal Society. He married a sister of Oliver Cromwell in 1656; and died Nov. 19, 1672.

The work here referred to was probably his "Discovery of a New World; or, a Discourse tending to prove that (it is probable) there may be another habitable world in the Moon;" which was published anonymously in 1640. — Eds.

he pretends to haue the perpetuall motion, & the magneticall alphabet; *sed cui commodum in tempore confusionis.* I allwayes forbeare to contradict the wilfull, tis to reproue the scornefull, and to cast pearles to swyne. But to our sympatheticall busines, whereby we may communicate our minds one to an other, though the diameter of the Earth interpose. *Diana non est Centrum omnium.* I would haue you soe good a Geometritian as to knowe your owne center. Did you euer yet measure your euerlasting selfe, the length of your life; the breadth of your loue; the depth of your wisdome; and the hight of your light? Let Truth be your Center & you may doe it, otherwayes not. I could wish you would nowe begin to leaue off being altogether an outward man; this is but *Casa Regentis;* the Ruler can drawe you straight lynes from your center to the confines of an infinite circumference, by which you may passe from any parte of the circumference to another, without obstacle of earth or secation of lynes, if you obserue and keepe but one & the true & only center, to passe by it, from it, and to it. Me thinkes I nowe see you *intus et extra*, and talke to you; but you mind me not, because you are from home, you are not within, you looke as if you were carelesse of your selfe, your hand & your voyce differ, tis my frinds hand, I knowe it well; but the voyce is your enemies: O my frind, if you loue me, gett you home, gett you in: you haue a frind at home, as well as an enemie; know them by theire voyces, the one is still driuing or enticing you out, the other would haue you stay within. Be within, & keepe within, and all that are within, and keepe within, shall you see, knowe, & communicate with, to the full; and shall not neede to straine your outward sences to see & heare that which is like themselues vncertaine, and too, too often, false; but abidinge for euer within, in the Center of Truth, from thence you may behold, conceiue, and understand the inumerable diuerse

emanation within the Circumference; and still within; for without are falcities, lyes, vntruths, doggs, &c.

I sent you lettres & 2 bookes by Mr. Kirbies sonne, I hope ere this they are come to your hands. I pray present my vnfeigned loue & humble seruice to your honored father & mother, alsoe to Mr. Dow[ning] & your good aunte; and tell her I hope we shall doe some good for her this terme in Cheneys busines. I desire to knowe what became of my lettres to Jo: Sand: and to the rest; what you knowe thereof send me word, for I would not haue the persons of men perish, for theire sinnes sake, if possiblie I could preuent the same. My wife & I haue noe child yet; my father & mother are both liuinge & hartie, I thanke God; and as longe as they liue looke not for me; the word is gonne out of my mouth & I cannot recall it; yet assure your selfe I am present with you in prayer, hartie good wishes, and other thoughts for your reall welfare & safety: my loue is soe to you I am loath to parte; yet being alsoe loath to be troublesome, & frinds must sometymes parte, that they may againe renew theire frindshipp. Salute your wife for me, & wish well to

Tuissimus Ed. Howse.

I pray remember to send me some furrs to lyne a close coate withall in the winter; and the price of them I shall pay to whom you will, or send it in bookes.

Remember my loue to Mr. Humfries & Mr. Fowles, & Mr. Rich: Saltonstall, when you see them.

EDWARD HOWES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his much este . . . . . .
John Winthrop a . . . . . .
Charles Towne be t . . . . . .
in Mercy . . . . . .
in Ne . . . . . .

Sir, — Notwithstandinge my late salutes, which I hope Mr. Downing hath sent per Mr. Graves, I having this oportunity, my love constraines me to tender againe my due respects vnto you, & sheweing that I have a longing desire to be neere vnto you, I waite but for time & a sufficient call to invite me. Therefore (as by my former) I desire you to procure setled on me a few acres of land; I am advised to remove my mind from Cambridge lott, to Boston; my desire is to have it on the East side of one of the hills, fitt for a Mathematicall Schoole. I shall referre the choyce of the place to your judgment, and if it may not come by donation, for my former service not vnknown to many, get it as cheape as you can for me. I name noe number of acres, you know best how much wilbe needfull, & you knowe I have noe child, therefore I may likely leave it a free schoole to the State, and I hope before I depart this world, to leave a Pillar with you for Posteritie. If it possiblie may be, let me have a running spring in the ground, or running through it, soe as it may not be turned an other way: what you expend in the purchase or procuringe, not exceeding ten pounds, I hope I shall be able to pay vpon your bill here, or as you shall appoynt, notwithstandinge these hard tymes. Thus desiringe you to present my humble service to your worthy father & mother, & my true loue to your selfe, I take leave & rest

Yours assured till death Edw. Howes.

Ratcliffe ffree Schoole,* the 25th of ffebr. 1644.

* It would appear from the date of this last letter of Howes, that he was, at that time, connected with the Ratcliffe Free School, in London, as an instructor. It will be seen by

I desire to know as soone as may be, what is or may be done for me.

There hath come to my hands a mapp of the French mens discoveries of Canada, & the parts north west of your Pla[ntation] which being more large & more exact than any I have formerly seene, I could not but take a coppie therof, and send it to you as a small token of my love & well wishe[s] to your proceedings. I desire (if it may be procured) an exa[ct] Mapp of Hudsons River, whereon the Dutch plant, & of the creekes & harbors betweene them & you, & espec[ially] of the Narrogansets, for I have some frinds yet behind, that wish they might be really informed and encoraged to come where they might love & serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and theire neighbors, without being a burthen or trouble to them: I should be glad of a true relation of the places full west of your Bay of Mercy, discovered & planted or peopled with English or others, even to the Hyrocois or further; but I dare not presume too farr vpon your curtesie, or to prye too farr into your secrets: what I have proposed on this & the other side, I leave to your discretion, & shall sitt downe & submitt to your judgment, & wayte longingly to heare from you, that I may in some measure satisfie my selfe & my frinds, & hasten away to give you reall thanks. *Vale in Salvatore.*

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the letter next preceding, that he had engaged not to leave England while his parents were living; and, they having probably died before this time, he was now ready to come over to New England, and intended to establish a "Mathematical School" in Boston. It does not appear what obstacles prevented his carrying this design into execution; but there is no evidence that he ever came. — Eds.

LETTERS, &c., OF JOHN WINTHROP, JR.*

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

To the right worshipfull my much honored father John Winthrop esqr dlr in Boston.

PASBESHAUKE† Apr: 7. 1636.

SIR, — My humble duty remembred to your selfe & my mother, with my loue to my brothers, and all our freinds with you: I suppose you have heard of our arrivall at Teeticut, and oportune meeting with our vessell. Concerning that place, I conceive it is not above 22 or 24 miles from mount Wooliston or Dorchester mill, the cuntry thereabouts very fertyle & rich ground, and so all downe the river for 30 miles together (for so farre we went downe before it grew wide into Saceames harbour); a ship of 500 tunnes may come vp about 10 or 12 miles in the Narrow river. There is noe meadow nor salt marsh all the way,

* John Winthrop, Jr., generally known as the Governor of Connecticut, was the eldest son of the Governor of Massachusetts. Having been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and having travelled extensively in the East, he followed his father to Massachusetts in the autumn of 1631. He had revisited England in 1634, and obtained a commission from Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook to plant a colony at the mouth of the Connecticut River, of which he was appointed Governor. He was on his way there when this first letter was written. It is printed from the original as found among his father's papers. But it may be well to remark, that most of the letters and papers of the younger Winthrop in this volume are printed from rough draughts or copies not always carefully prepared. They are mainly interesting as having immediate relation to other letters contained in this volume, or as throwing light upon points to which other letters have alluded. — EDS.

† We are unable now to designate the place whence this letter was written, no Indian name corresponding to it having been found. The writer's destination was the mouth of the Connecticut River. — EDS.

neyther could I see any in all Narigansett Bay, and as farre as I could perceive, there is more marshe vpon Charles River & Misticke then all the Naragansetts neere the sea. I was vp with Canonicus at his great citty. There be many wigwams, but they stand not together as I have heard reported. The ground there seemeth to be farre worse then the ground of the Massachusett, being light, sandy & rocky, yet they have good corne without fish: but I vnderstand that they take this course; they have every one 2 feilds, which after the first 2 yeares they lett one feild rest each yeare, & that kepes their ground contin[u]ally in hart. The first of this month we sett sayle from Nariganset, and in the afternoone, about 6 a clocke, arrived heere: for this place I have not yet seene any thing that I should be able to wright of it. Mr. Gibbons can fully informe you of all things.

Thus craving your prayers & blessing, I commend you to the Almighty, & rest

Your obedient sonne JOHN WINTHROP.

I am informed by Mr. Ludloe that Dorchester plantation hath lost 2500*li* in cattle this winter, — besides other townes.

I pray be pleased to remember to receive 2 barrells of peas of Mr. Allerton, a hogshead of porke of Capt. Lovell, and if Mr. Mayhew hath bought the provisions at the east, I should desire 5 or 6 hogsheads peas, & as much bread. I have but one turky, which as they say proves to be a cocke.

I send you backe by Mr. Gibbon the booke you wrote your receipts in.

AGREEMENT OF JOHN WINTHROP, JR., AND OTHERS WITH NICHOLAS BOND.

Know all men by these presents that whereas John Winthrop Junior of Boston in New England esqr doth purpose at his retorne with all convenient speed to erect and build a worke for the making of Iron; and hath taken in divers Copartners for the advance and effecting thereof, whereas alsoe Nicholas Bond of the Citye of Westminster in the Countye of Middlesex esqr hath before the sealing hereof delivered and payed vnto the said John the some of one hundreth pounds of lawfull monie of England, to be imployed in the said Iron worke for the best benefitt and advantage of the said Nicholas Bond his executors administrators and assignees, which said some of one hundreth pounds, and all the benefitt, advantage and encrease, that shall from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter arise and growe, Wee the said John Winthrop, Emanuell Downinge, and Hugh Peter doe hereby for our selves, our seurall and respective executors and administrators, promise and agree to be accomptable vnto the said Nicholas Bond his executors administrators and assignees for the same, according to the trew entent and meaninge of these presents, without fraude, covenn or collusion; witnes our hands and seales, this 23d day of March A° Domini 1642.

John Winthrop [Junr]
Hugh Pe[ter]
Em: Downinge.

Sealed and deliuered in the presence of vs;
Tho: Welde:

Indorsed, "Mr. Wintrop, Mr. Peters & Mr. Downing's assignment of articles about the Iron woork in New England."

PETITION OF JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the honored Governour & Generall Court assembled at Boston.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOHN WINTHROP IUNR.

WHEREAS there was a motion formerly by this honored Court for the beginning a plantation about Pequott, and the Court expressed themselves desirous, that some would appeare in it, your petitioner being desirous to promote so good a worke (& having formerly discovered some quantity of the best sort of Iron Ston that hath yet beene discovered, lijng convenient to be wrought in those parts), doth desire leave to make a plantation in those parts at or neere Pequott, with such fitting workemen, & others, that may present themselves, & to lay out such a convenient place for an Ironworke as is fitting, according to the grant of this Court for the incouraging of Ironworkes the last Court, & doth desire such liberties as are necessary, & other far remote plantations doe inioy.

28th 4th m°. 1644.

The magistrates desire the consent of the Deputies herein. JOHN ENDECOT, *Governor.*

The house of Deputies do consent to this petition, provided that fit men appeare to carry on the plantation within three yeares next ensuing.

STEPHEN WINTHROPE, by order of the house.

Vera Copia, Witnes INCREASE NOWELL, *Secret.*

Vpon the petition of Mr. John Winthrop iunr, exhibited to this Courte, for leave to make a plantation att or neere Pequott, it is ordered that the said petition is granted, &

that the petitioner shall have liberty to make a plantation in the said Pequott Country, with such others as shall present themselves to joyne in the said plantation, & they shall enioy such liberties as are necessary, & other far remote plantations doe inioy, and also to lay out a convenient place for Ironworkes, provided that a convenient number of fitt persons to carry on the said plantation doe appeare to prosecute the same within three yeares.

DATED 28th 4th m° 1644:

Per Curia, INCREASE NOWELL, *Secret.*

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO LORD FORBES.*

BOSTON in New England, Dec: 23, 1644.

RIGHT HONORABLE, — I have desired this bearer, my vnkle Mr. Downing, and my brother, to repaire to your honor, to give your lordship information concerning the country of Nova Scotia, called Acadie, where my lord Starling† once possessed a goodly harbour, & a fort in it called Port Royall, but now that & the whole coast adioyning is in the possession of the French; which place of Port Royall is sayd to be yet owing for to the heires of my lord Starling, but is in the hands now of Monseir D'Aulney, who hath also by violence disposessed an other French lord, Monseir de La Tour, a great freind of the lord Starling, who held his possession of Cape Sable from the

* Probably Alexander, Lord Forbes, who served in early life under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and attained to the rank of lieutenant-general. He returned to England at the breaking-out of the civil war, and was one of the commanders sent into Ireland to suppress the rebellion in 1643. Or the letter may have been intended for Sir William Forbes, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, in 1626, by patent of the barony of Forbes, in Nova Scotia. — EDS.

† Sir William Alexander obtained his grant of the territory of Nova Scotia from James I., Sept. 10, 1621; which was confirmed by Charles I., July 12, 1625. He was appointed, in 1626, Secretary of State for Scotland; created Viscount Stirling in 1630; and by letters-patent, June 14, 1633, Earl of Stirling. He died in 1640. — EDS.

grant of my lord Sterling,* confirmed vnder the broad seale of Scotland, as he hath shewed vnto vs, comming lately to request succour against the violence of the said D'Aulney, who hath wholy beat him out of Cape Sable, & seeketh by all meane to dispossesse him of St. John's river, the place which he & his predecessors have long enioyed; to which end he had brought commissions out of France, wherof your honor may be pleased to receive their relation, the English Colonies heere would be gre[a]t to have their brethren of Scotland to be their neighbours in enioying that antient right is conceived they had of Nova Scotia, Acadie, & therefore I beseech your lordship to informe by this bearer whether the State of Scotland hath wholy deserted that country, & disclaime all right and interest therein, and vpon what ground, whether only vpon my lord Sterlings surrender; and your lordships advice is humbly desired what course may be iustly taken for the succour & protection of Monseir La Tour, from the iniury an[d] violence of his French adversaries, who doe prosecute with all vehemency against him, because the[y] thinke him inclining to the protestant religion. Not having further to trouble your honor, I humbly take leave, & rest

Your lordships humble servant [*No signature.*]

Indorsed by J. Winthrop, Jr., "Coppy of my letter to the Lord Forbes."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO THOMAS PETER.

To my reverend friend Mr. Thomas Peter at Saye Brooke dd.

Boston Sept: 3. 1646.

Sir, — I am glad to heare of your recovery; I should be glad to see you, but cannot yet. I could not possibly come

* The grant from Sir William Alexander to Claude de St. Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, is dated April 30, 1630. See Hazard's Coll., i. 307. — Eds.

with the Commissioners, for I am preparing to goe with my family: if I should goe & returne, winter I feare would overtake me before I should be ready to goe. I desire you therefore to take care of the businesse for the Pequot Indians, & that the Commissioners be fully informed of Vncus his dealings. If the Pequotts be not taken vnder the English, if these Indians that we must live neere be still vnder Vncus command, there wilbe noe living for English there; we must not expect to be quiet. I am not willing to deale in it, because it may be conceived my intentions are other then they are. I looke at the quiet of our plantation principally, & conceiue a greate security to have a party of the Indians here, to have their chiefe dependance vpon the English. They will easily discover any Indian plotts, &c. If you thinke meet, the Indians, the captaine, Casacinamon, & some others in the name of the rest, may declare their desires by way of petition, &c.

I cannot direct at such a distance, but you know best what is to be done, & whats best for our plantation. I must hasten to be with you: I am in hope of sackes for Dammon.

I desire seede corne may be procured. Rye & winter wheat I hope they will sow some for me. I will pay the same kind by exchange heere. So with my due respects & love to your selfe & Mrs. Mary, Mrs. Elizabeth, & all our freinds, I rest

Tuissimus JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, I am much asked for the saddle was left. I pray send it by the first oportunity, to be left at my fathers for me. It was borrowed of Mr. Leader.

Indorsed, "Letter to Mr. Tho. Peter Sept: 3, — 46."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

Noble Sir, — I haue requested this bearer Mr. Alcott to waite vpon you to vnderstand your pleasure concerning the estate of Mrs. Feakes, who being come hither with hir children to inhabit, in respect of their neere relation to me, I am constreined to take such care of them as I can, but being in want of all necessaries, they cannot possibly heere have supplies: & therfore I am bold to request your favour that there may be such present supplyes sent vnto them out of the estate as may prevent those inevitable wants which will other wise necessarily fall vpon them. How you will please to order the estate for the future, as they may haue a comfortable living out of it, I request your speedy determination: if considering their residence heere, you please to remitt the estate over hither, I will take the best care I can that it shall be justly disposed of by the direction of my father & the English Magistrates, according to the English lawes in that behalfe: and because the land whereon they lived at Greenwich might add much to their comfortable supplies, if it were improved to the best, & for some other necessary considerations, I earnestly request your favour for William Hallet, that you wilbe pleased to grant him liberty to plant there, according to an agreement made by Mr. Feakes with him, & to passe & inhabitt within your iurisdiction, as he may haue occation, which if it may be obteined, I desire he might haue it sent vnto him by this bearer, Mr. Alcott, by whom also you may please to cause the estate to be conveied hither, if that be your pleasure. And what you shalbe pleased to determine, in case Mr. Alcott should be hindered by the weather or other accidents from going as he intendeth, & only these lines be some other way conveied,

I beseech you to certify your pleasure heerin by some other oportunity. And if therin or any other way I may be serviceable to you, be pleased to command

Your Humble Servant JOHN WINTHROP.*

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

NOBLE SIR, — I wrote to you in the winter by one Mr. Olcot, who promised me the delivery with his owne hands. I desired him to repaire to you to know your pleasure concerning the estate of Mrs. Feakes, but this weeke I vnderstand that he went not onward of his intended voyage, but altering his designe, my letters were not sent. I am bold therfor againe to request your favour concerning hir & the estate, that whereas there was an agreement made with William Hallet for the managing of her estate (which Mr. Feakes before his going into England told me at Boston that he fully consented to, knowing him to be industrious & carefull, which I find since hir being heere to be very true), that you wilbe pleased to lett the estate be againe returned into hir hands, not knowing any other way how it can be improued to the comfortable maintenance of hir & the children, who for present for want of

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* This letter has no date. It is indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Copy of letter to the Duch Governor concerning Mr. Feaks estate." It was written about the year 1648. Gov. Stuyvesant was not in America until May, 1647; and the reference to the writer's father, who died in March, 1649, shows that it was written before that time. Other letters in this volume also indicate the date above suggested. The husband of Mrs. Feakes was Robert Feakes, of Watertown, who, after serving as a deputy in the General Court of Massachusetts for several years, had become, in 1640, one of the purchasers of Greenwich, in the Colony of New Haven, but which, two years after, submitted to the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Feakes must have gone to England about the time this letter was written; but he returned to reside in Watertown, "where he was for several years deprived of reason, and died 1 Feb. 1663." — Brodhead's Hist. of N.Y., pp. 294, 330, 331; Trumbull's Conn., i. 118; Savage's Geneal. Dict.; 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., x. 2.

On the other side of the paper is an unsigned rough draught of another letter to Stuyvesant on the same subject, as follows in the text. — EDS.

it are in a necessitous condition: as also that you wilbe pleased to grant him liberty to returne againe within your Jurisdiction, that he may gather up the scattered estate & improue the land at Greenwich, which may add much to their comfortable subsistence; which lisense under your hand I beseech you to send by this bearer William Cooly, who intendeth shortly to returne to me.

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

Noble Sir, — According to your desire I dispatched away a messenger with your letters to the Governour of Massachusett, with all possible expedition after they came to my hands, but the messinger was something retarded in his returne by reason of a deepe snow that fell as he was in his journye backe, which forced him to stay some daies longer then was expected, so as he came hither but thre daies since. The letter which he brought back from the Governour I haue now sent heere inclosed by Mr. Alford, who hath promised to deliver it with his owne hands, he intending the spediest oportunity possible of passage, eyther by water, or land. I am not only in hope that your christianlike proposalls lately sent to the governours of the English (I thanke you for the open copy you were pleased to impart to my self), may haue a fruitfull effect to the good of both colonies, but hope there may be expectation of a speedy composure of those sadd differences betweene the 2 nations in Europe. I have not to adde but to desire you to reade that I am, my lord

Your humble servant J. W.

Peq: Mar: 28, 1653.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop of Conn., "Copy of my letter to Mr. Peter Stevesant Governor of the Duch."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

Honored Sir, — I dispatched a messinger with your letter to the Governour of Massachuset, according to your desire, and received another from him to yourselfe, which I sent away by Mr. Alford about five daies since, who intended to goe by the spediest oportunity to Manhatan, and promised carefully to deliver it: so as I hope you haue it before these come to your hands, or very shortly after. Not having further to adde at present I rest

Your humble servant John Winthrop.

Apr: 5. 1653.

Indorsed, "Copy of letter to the Duch Governour."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO SIR GEORGE DOWNING.*

Honored Sir, — I have beene very vnhappy that since my arrivall in England I have not yet seene my honored aunt, your mother, which hath beene both contrary to my intention & desires, and had often resolved, but could not avoid such divertions that have hitherto retarded. I know not what hir condition is, nor how she lives, as to a comfortable subsistance now in hir tyme of age and infirmity, so farr absent from your selfe & all other acquaintance & friends. I feare your servants or agents, in whose hand your estate is, may neglect hir as to such comfortable supplyes, as may be fitting for hir, & honoreble for your selfe,

* Sir George Downing was at this time British minister at the Hague. His reply to this letter will be found among his own letters which follow in this volume. — Eds.

though I haue not heard the least word of any such matter from hir. She is now aged, and in an ordinary way of nature cannot but dayly draw neerer to the confines of a better inheritance, but while God is pleased to lenthen hir dayes, I beleeve it cannot but be your desire she may enioy the reall fruits of the Almightyes Bounty to hir sonne, whose remotenesse from hir cannot but be affliction ynough to so loving a mother. It may be your portion to be yet longer absent, and what other accidents may fall owt, that may leave hir vpon vncertainties, as to a comfortable livelihood, none can foresee. I know you honor & love hir above measure: be pleased to think of some honorable settlement for hir future daies, God having for this end, amongst others, blessed you with a faire large estate (which I reioyce to heare of) my serious & earnest advice & request is, that you would consider to settle a certaine annuity or the like for hir life, that might be made sure for hir, whatever should fall out: about an hundred pound per annum at least, to be at hir certaine & present inioyment & command, might be comfortable for hir; lesse will not be honorable nor satisfactory to your selfe. Excuse my motion for so deserving a friend; who, might hir age beare the trouble of so long a passage, & your consent to it, should have the absolute command of what ever in that wildernesse, is possessed by

Your humble servant J. W.

London, May 9: 1662.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Copy of letter to Sir George Downing."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

To the Right Honorable Peter Stuyvesant Governor of New Netherlands.

Right Honorable, — Att the very instant of my arrivall heere I had the happinesse to receive your Honors letters, and the joyfull newes of your welfares by Mr. Nicolas Varlet. What your honor is pleased to expresse concerning your desires of continuance of the like firme peace, and vnion, as is betweene our superiours in Europe, I hope there is the like reall disposition in all the English of this wildernesse to desire, & promote the same, wherin there shall not be wanting my best indeavours vpon all occasion, for the more firme setling, and perpetuall continuance thereof.

That which your honor mentioned concerning Mr. Varlet his businesse about the estate of his deceased father, I began immediately vpon the reading your letter to inquire about the same, and should have beene ready to serve him according to the equity of his case, had there beene need of it, but am informed both from himselfe, and also some of the magistrats heere, that the businesse is issued to his satisfaction before my comming. I have not at present to add, but to present my best respects and service to your honor and your honord lady and sonns, with great thanks for those favours when I was beginning my late pilgrimage from your citty, and rest

Your most affectionate frend & servant J. W.

Hartford June 17, 1663. Stilo veteri.

Indorsed by J. Winthrop, Jr., "Copy of letter to Peter Stuyvesant General of Newnetherland."

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO PETER STUYVESANT.

To the Right Honorable Peter Stuyvesant Governor and his counce[ll] residing at Manados, dd.

Right Honorable, — I am lately come hither vpon the command of the Right Honorable Colonell Richard Nicolls, Commander in Cheife of his Majesties Forces now arrived heere, and other of his Majesties Honorable Commissioners. I now vnderstand from themselves that they have commission from our Soveraigne Lord King Charles to reduce to his Majesties obedience, all such forreigners as have, without his Majesties leave and consent, seated themselves amongst any of his Dominions in America, to the preiudice of his Majesties subiects, & diminution of his Royall authority. I am informed also that his Majesties Commissioners have declared and promised, that those that will acknowledge and testify themselves to submitt to his Majesties government, as his good subiects ought to doe, shalbe protected, by his Majesties Lawes, & Justice, and peaceably enioy whatever Gods blessing and their owne honest industry hath furnished them with, and all other priveledges with his Majesties English subiects. I vnderstand also that they have in his Majesties name demanded the towne scituate vpon the Manhades, with all the forts therevnto belonging, to be surrendred vnder his Majesties obedience. I thought fitt to give you this freindly advertisement, that I vnderstand his Majesties command concerning this businesse is vrgent, and that although he hath sent over very considerable forces, exeedingly well fitted with all necessaries for warre, with such ingeneeres and other expedients for the forcing the strongest fortifications, yet hath also given them order to require assistance of all his Majesties Colonies & subiects in New England, and hath

directed his particular commands, in his Royall letters to our Colonies. My serious advice therfore to your selfe & all your people, as my loving neighbours and freinds, is this, that you would speedily accept his Majesties gracious tender, which I vnderstand hath beene declared, and resigne your selves vnder the obedience of his Sacred Majestie, that you may avoid the effusion of blood, and all the good people of your nation may enioy all the happinesse tendered, and more then you can imagine, vnder the protection of so gratious a Prince, otherwise you may be assured, that both the Massachusett Colony and Conecticutt, and all the rest are obliged & ready to attend his Majesties service: and if you should by wilfull protraction occasion a generall rising of the English Colonies, I should be sorry to see the ill consequences which you will bring vpon your people therby, of which I hope and perswade in reall compassion, that you will not runne so great an hasard to occasion a needlesse warre, with all the evills & miseries that may accompany the same, when nothing but peace and liberties & protection is tendered. I have I hope obteined of their honors this further addition to theire former free tenders for the good of your selves, your freinds, and allies, that any of your freinds in Holland that will come over hither, shall have free liberty to inhabite & plant in these parts vnder his Majesties subiection, and to transport themselves in theire owne country ships, which (if you consider well) gives you such a settlement in your present condition that you will find little alteration, but your submission to and acknowledgment of his Majesties Empire, (for the most apparent future good of all your people) who hath imployed such persons of honor & worth that your people may be happy vnder their government. I have desired Mr. Samuell Willis, and my son,* with

* Fitz John Winthrop, who succeeded his father, after no long interval, as Governor of Connecticut. — Eds.

Capt: Thomas Clerke, and Capt: John Pinchen, to attend your honor with these letters, and to have further conference with your honor about the premises, and desire they may have freindly reception, and free returne with their companie & attendance, and you shall receive vpon any occasion the like civilities from

Your loving neighbour & servant JOHN WINTHROP.

GRAVESANT, Aug: 22: 1664.

We doe approve and allow of this letter, & giue our assents that it be sent to the Governor of the Manhadoes.

RICHARD NICOLLS
ROBERT CARR
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.*

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

The copy of a letter to Mr. Williams of Providence in answer to his.†

HARTFORD, Feb: 6, 1664:

SIR, — I was very glad of your late letter, and to see therby that the winter of your age hath yet warme affections for your old freinds; and if your head be growne white, as I find in your riddle, yet there is much more candor in the heart, and brighter then that snow which covers the hills.

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* This letter is printed from the original draught in Winthrop's hand, and the signatures to the certificate at the end are the original autograph signatures of the Royal Commissioners. It was followed on the 8th of September, 1664, by the capitulation of Governor Stuyvesant, and the complete annihilation of the Dutch power in America. A vivid description of the effect which the letters of Winthrop and Nicolls produced upon Stuyvesant may be found in Hollister's History of Connecticut, i. 227–8. See also Trumbull, i. 279, 280; Smith's Hist. of N.Y., i. 15–29; Brodhead, 738–741; Holmes, i. 334. — EDS.

† Unhappily, the letter of Williams, to which this was the reply, cannot be found. Winthrop's copy of his own letter is very rough, and, in some places, almost illegible; but it is too interesting to be lost. — EDS.

We must all despaire of the spring of youth againe as to this world, yet we know there wilbe an eternall spring without succeeding winter, a perpetuall flourishing verdure, & houses not made with hands, eternall in the heavens, without decay: but though its the ordinary appointment of the Almightye that age should decline without returne of renued strength & vigour, yet somtymes He lets us see His mighty power over nature itselfe & all His creatures, in giving a reall renovation to some men, as well as to the eagles whose youth is euer renued, (as the profet also intimates), though [they] have flesh, blood & bones, as well as other creatures. There are now living, in these parts 2 who being above 80 yeares have lately had reneued teeth. But this is but only a very small, partiall supply of a kind of an externall part, yet such as in the vsuall course of nature is only from the vegitating quality of the spring of our yeares. but this is nothing to what is written of the *decanus edentulus* that did *reiuvenescere*, and it was very few years since knowne to be reall in a minister of the North of England, of whom I had not only read in the newes bookes of that tyme, but was assured of it by the report of a freind in England, Mr. Francis Web (possibly not vnknowne to your selfe), who had inquired into the truth of it, & sent to the man him selfe about it, & was certified that in his very old age, (the particular number of his yeares I doe not perfectly remember, but I thinke it was above an hundred,) the head was againe covered with youthfull haire, & he had new teeth, and having vsed for fourty yeares before to read with spectacles, could afterward read the smallest print with his old renewed eyes, without the help of any glasses; & I have heard also that such renovations have beene knowne in Scotland, not so rarely. Sir, this discourse hath beene only occasioned by what was gathered from the top of these white hils in your letter; you will easily excuse any impertinencies may appeare therein. It occasioneth an

vsefull meditation; why should it seme strange that the same omnipotent power should produce that glorious restoration out of the grave, sea, dust, ashes, & corruption?

Sir, I thanke you for the intelligence of those passages mentioned, which I wish had beene some of them more full, for they are very newes heere, though I perceive your supposing we had heard of them, caused the shortning, & only an hint of them. That especially about war with Holland, we have not yet had any certainty of it, but the intimation in your letter of the very day it was proclaimed, makes it seeme so credible that though these letters from Boston, which came with yours, mention only expectation of that war, yet we may suppose you have it some other way & not thence, of which I wish it had beene also hinted, what way the newes came & the certanty thereof, for it is of great concernment to have the certanty of it. By what you mention of the comander of the Indians' war, it appears the feud still continues, although the Mowhoaks (as I suppose you have heard) have killed the Cheife Sachem & Capt. of the Vpland Indians, Onopequen, & his wife & children, after they had taken him; its said they kild him before they knew who he was; they are all fled from Pacomtuck & Squakeage & Woruntuck, & it seemes some of them to your parts, but there are 2 forts of them neere Springfeild; all the Indians of these parts are together in a fort neere Winsor. I heard from Mr. Pinchon that they would make peace if they knew how, but none of them durst goe to treat about it: I should thinke now they have revenged upon Onopequen, they might herken to peace; which possibly if they desire it, may be by the mediation of the English, when its season of passing. By letters from New Yorke I am informed that by an expresse from Fort Albany (formerly Fort Orange), it is informed that 3000 of the Seneckes, a people in league with the Mohawkes beyond them, are gathered together & give out threatning against all English, pretending some

of their nation have beene killed by the English at Newland; but of this I suppose you have heard by the Arrival of Sir Robert Carr in your parts, who passed by Milford the later end of the weeke before last, in a vessell to Secunke, in his way to Boston, by whom that intelligence was left at Milford.

Sir, I wonder not at what you write of any being hott & dry, they must needs be hot & drye that run fast, & with violence, & may outrun themselves; I hope they will not make an ill vse of the moderation these find from freinds heere. Your wise moderation I know doth well helpe to ballast in gusts & too high sailes. Sir, I shall only add my cordiall salutes to your selfe, Mrs. Williams, & all yours, with my salutations also to Mr. Throgmorton & his, & all freinds, resting Yours affectionately, J. W.

I thanke God we have beene generally in good health this winter. 3 very aged men have died this winter, & one a little before.

LETTERS OF PETER STUYVESANT.*

PETER STUYVESANT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the worthily esteemed Mr. John Winthrop, in Pequotoh.

Sir, — According to the relation of Tho : Stanton, I was in good hope to haue seene you heere att the riuer's mouth, where, or else where, your presence should hâue bynne very acceptable vnto mee: howeuer, I hope one day to see you. I know not how occasions may dispose of me, otherwise it is probable I may come into these partes in the spring. In the meane tyme, if you are either furnished, or can be, with any quantitie of good trading wampum, I shall take it of from you, & make you payement in commodeties att reasonable price, but I would haue it speciale good. If I could haue spoaken with you, I would

* Peter Stuyvesant, the son of a clergyman, was born in Friesland, and educated at the University of Franeker. After having served as Director of the Island of Curaçoa, and having lost a leg in the expedition against the Island of St. Martin, he received his commission as Director-General of New Netherland, July 28, 1646; and arrived at Manhattan, May 11, in the following year. He found the affairs of the colony in great confusion; applied himself at once to rectify the disorders which had prevailed in the latter part of Kieft's administration; and soon commenced a correspondence with the governors of the New-England Colonies, with a view to the settlement of existing difficulties. Stuyvesant sailed for Holland in May, 1665 (the next year after the surrender of New Amsterdam to the English), to give an account to the Dutch Government of the causes which led to the surrender. He returned to America in 1668, and died in 1672. His will is dated 19 Jan., 1672; and was admitted to probate in March following. His remains were interred in a vault under a chapel, erected by himself in his "Bouwerie;" the tomb being now under St. Mark's Church, in the Bowery, New York. — Eds.

haue entred into agreement with you to haue taken a considerable quantitie each yeare. I rest & expect your answere by the first,

Your assured ffriend P. STUYVESANT.

From RIUER'S MOUTH otherwise called SAYBROKE FFORT, this 27th: Sepr: 1650.

PETER STUYVESANT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Right Honnorable John Wintrop, Esqr: Governor off the Colony off Hardfort.

RIGHT HONNOURABLE SIR, — Vppon the rumor off your longe expected arrival, I could (by this ocasion off my brother in law Nicolavs Varlet, beinge necessitated in the behalve off his deceased parents estate, to make a voyage vnto your parts:) not omit to congratulaet your honnors commeinge to his old place & Government, the experance off your honnours wisdome, peaceable condition, & naturly affection to peace, amity, and neighborhood, gives me hope that soo as in Europa betweene our Superiors is a firme peace, vnion & confederancy, that the same in these remote parts may be observed, & that once all former questions about the limits, and other pretentions may be removved, wherein we shal not be wantinge to contribut therevnto the readines off a good will and affection, & al conducybel meanes.

In the head off these presents I have mentioned of my brothers goeinge into your parts, only for the administration off his deceased parents estate, & whereas it is lyke, at the least to be feared, that he may meet with sum troubel & questions with sum debtors or creditors belonginge to the aforementioned estate, he had desyred off me these

few lynes off addres & recommandation to your honnor, which I could not deney him. I shal therefore creave your honnour will be pleased to favour him, with a favorable hearing, good & speedy cours off justice, & he beinge vnacquainted in the English tongh & Lawes, iff he should mis in any proseedings, I hope & doubt not, you wil advyse him in way of justice for the best. Soo after my love, respects, & service presented vnto you & yours, I shall rest Your Honnours Lovinge Friend and Servant

P. STUYVESANT.

AMSTERDAM, in the New Netherlands, this 9th off June, A^{o} 1663:

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, "Duch Governor, receaved Jun: 17: 1663."

LETTERS OF SIR GEORGE DOWNING.*

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honoured Cosen John Winthrop, Esquire, these. New England.

Sir, — It is to my no smale griefe to hear of Gods afflicting hand both at home and abroad, but yet (I must needs confesse) tis no more than I partly lookt for before my departure, when as I considered the instability of all mens minds, the depressing of such as well diserved, a sad omen that God will either take them wholly away, because they are not esteemed of them, or make them such as the fickle guidy headed people would haue them to be. We are growne a little to hygh. The Sea fort was not a name besieming any New England vessell. The meddling with

* Sir George Downing was the eldest son of Emanuel Downing by his second wife, Lucy Winthrop, the sister of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. The Governor thus describes his nephew, when he embarked on the voyage at one of the stages of which this letter was written: "The scarcity of good ministers in England, & want of employment for our new graduates, occasioned some of them to look abroad. Three honest young men, good scholars, & very hopeful, viz. a younger son of Mr. Higginson, to England, & so to Holland, & after to the East Indies; a younger son of Mr. Buckly, a Batchellor of Arts, to England; & *Mr. George Downing, son of Mr. Emanuel Downing of Salem, Batchellor of Arts also, about twenty years of age*, went in a ship to the West Indies to instruct the Seamen. He went by Newfoundland & so to Christophers, & Barbados, & Nevis, & being requested to preach in all these places, he gave such content, as he had large offers made to stay with them. But he continued in the ship to England, & being a very able scholar, & of a ready wit & fluent utterance, he was soon taken notice of, & called to be a preacher in Sir Thomas Fairfax his army, to Colonel Okye his regiment." — *Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.*, ii. 242–3. Sir George was born, probably in Dublin, about 1624–5; came to America with his father and mother in 1638; and was of the first class graduated at Harvard College in 1642. He was British minister at the Hague, both under Cromwell and under Charles II.; by the latter of whom he was made a knight in 1660, and a baronet in 1663. He died in 1684. — Eds.

Madam Latours buisnesse,* considering that neither party belonged to the country, that such security was profered, the law of banishing for conscience, which makes us stinke every wheare, the suffering ships to be taken in their harbours,† under commaund of their gunnes, seems very strange, and do portend somthing to follow. God in his mercy prevent it. I am sure in the Indyes they will not suffer either party to offend the other, upon danger of confiscation of all, and yet they haue suffered more from either party than New England.

I hope you have received my letter by Mr. Young, whearin, as neer as I am able, I have sett down the state of the Indyes. We were there from the 12th of Feb : to the 27th of July, in which tim I endeavoured, as farr as I was able, to understand the state of things in all kinds. I was twice at the Barbados, thrice at Antegua, & many times at Nevis, but most at Christophers, last at Santa Cruce. If you go to Christophers, you shal see the ruins of a flourishing place. The resons I might sett down, but it would be too tedious. If you go to Barbados, you shal see a flourishing Iland, many able men. I beleive they have bought this year no lesse than a thousand Negroes, and the more they buie, the better able they are to buye, for in a yeare and halfe they will earne (with God's blessing) as much as they cost. If you go to Antegua, you shall meet with a very understanding, courteous gentleman, Captain Ashton, governour of the Iland, with whom I am intimate; his love towards me was singular, and I knowe he will be wondrous glade to see you, and to give you any encouragement the Iland affoards. If you go to Nevis, you shal meet with a discret man, Governour

* See Winthrop's Hist of N. E., ii. 192, 196, 198. — Eds.

† Downing probably refers to the exploit of Capt. Stagg, commander of a London armed vessel, in taking a Bristol ship in Boston Harbor, as related in Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., ii. 180–183. — Eds.

Lake, who likewise was importunate with me to stay there, and indeed, had I conjectured of your coming, I should have stayed either ther or at Antegua.

We came from Christophers in company with an old Flemmish vessell which belonged to the Iland: we sett sayle about midnight: early in the morning shee sprange a butt end of a planke in her runne, so they were fourst to runne her a shoare upon Saba. So we took in som of their company, with their Merchant, and carried them downe to Sainta Cruce, where two English vessells were riding which had then brought Major Reynoulds thither, to be Governour.

This is a brave Iland, as bigge as the Barbados, as healthy as any Iland in the Indyes. Ther were about three hundred English, as many French, and a quantity of Dutch; the French had a fort; the Dutch likwise had a strong fort and a Governour, and the English lived under Dutch; so the Dutch and French did grievously (as the English say) oppresse the English; would not suffer any English vessell to com and trade at the Iland: now the land was first the Englishes; whereupon they sett upon the French with a fury, putt them to the worst, and sent them all off the Iland. They sett likwise upon the Dutch, tooke their fort, their Governour was kild with a wound, and so they have now the whoole Iland in possession, and have received a Governour. If this I[lan]d be well settled, it will be of great consideration, espetially because tis so neer the Spaniard. If you intend to see the Indyes, it would not be convenient (as I thinke) to venter much till you have seen it. New England servants (I fear) will be noon of the fittest for those parts.

The certainest commodityes you can carry for those parts (I suppos) will be fish, as mackrill, basse, drye fish, beefe, porke, if you can procure them at reasonable rates, and if you be there in the Spring, its the best time, because the fewest ships are there. Linnen cloath is a certaine com-

modity, but that is deare in New England. We sould linnen which cost 10*d.* ¾ the Portugal vare (which is within two ynches of an English ell) for 12*l* de tob: or a pound of endico the yard.

A man that will settle ther must looke to procure servants, which if you could gett out of England, for 6, or 8, or 9 yeares time, onely paying their passages, or at the most but som smale above, it would do very well, for so therby you shall be able to doe somthing vpon a plantation, and in short tim be able, with good husbandry, to procure Negroes (the life of this place) out of the encrease of your owne plantation.

I praye God in mercy direct you and blesse you, and let your prayers go along with us, and I hope that if you undertake that voyage, I may see you in the Indyes, for we are now bound home, and shall goe neer in our return to touch in the Indyes, and so for New England.

My humble duty to my unkle (whom I thinke unthankfull New England is unworthy of) and my Aunt, my love to my cosen Stephen and his wife, my cosen Adam and his wife, my cosen Sam [*torn*] my brother and sister Stoddard, goodman Child and his wife, Mr. Sheepheard, Mr. Pelham and his wife, with all the rest of my good friend[s] to whom (if it be God will) I wish all peace and prosperity, and that God knitt their hearts together, which I fear will hardly be done whil their government remaines so popular. I am perswaded thers not the meanest of those 3 or foure men they so tosse and tumble, but if chosen for life would be able to mannage the affayres of the country far otherwise than now: but with all the limit of freedomship I believe must be sett a little wider.

Thus with my humble unfained love to your selfe, with cosen your wife, my cosen John, my cosen Lucy and Elizabet, I rest your truely obsequious cosen and servant

GEORGE DOWNING.

NEWFOUNDLAND, aboard the ship in Caplin baye, Aug: 26. 1645.

I heare ther are strang reports concerning us in New England; som thinges tis true were amiss in the beginning of the voyage, but they which with such aggravations sett them forth were the greatest causes therof, and (my life for it) he that shall man a ship with New England milke sopps shall never speed better. Where authority is debased, an eare given to every prating fellow, ther shall never reports be wanting. (God be thanked) we are yett well, and if the Lord continue the same gracious hand towards us, I hope the owners shall have no great cause to complaine.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull his very good Unkle John Winthrop the Elder, Esquier, these. N.E.

Sir, — The very argument that hath all this while withheld my penne, doth still presse upon me: only I am affraid, that while I am so long musing on the hyghnesse of the presumption of writing to yourselfe, just occasion might seeme to be given of a worse construction of my silence: and therfore I haue at last adventured, as rather desiring to be accounted any thing, than unmindfull of the duty nature hath commanded me to owe you, or unthankefull for the continued tract of favour from yourselfe while I was in New England, and I wish I knewe upon what heads to enlarge myselfe, so as might be most acceptable. For the state of things heer, it hath been very various, not only in the time of the warre, but more since: we having since the sheathing of the swourd some times enjoyed our lucide intervales, but then all hath quickly been o'reclowded, that no mortall eye could in the face of things see any thing but ruine. The maine ground (as to

humane causes) hath been the great divisions among us. For while the common enemy was unsubdued, ther was some kind of aggreement, all knowing that if he prevayled, all without distinction should be swallowed up in the common fate; but when he beganne to be very low, then every one bethinkes himselfe, what have I fought for all this while, why haue I so deeply engaged my selfe in this unnaturall warre? Saith one, I fought and engaged for the removing evill counsellours from the King, and the settling his person in his just rights; saith another, I engaged for the establishment of presbitery, and pulling downe Episcopacy; saith another, I fought against the King, as conceiving him rather to act, than be acted of any evill counsellours whatsoever; another, he fought against oppression in generall. So if any Church gouernment tend to an oppression and enslaving the consciences of men, so farre, saith he, I fought against it; as Monorchy may lye open to tyranny, so against it, if there bee any laws that tend to it, or any courts whatsoever, as (saith he) the Lords howse, they being not choosen by the people (the foundation of true authority) but only sitting there in their owne persons, and therfore (saith he) what reason is there they should have any vote, at least in the legislative power of the kingdome? Hence one cryes out, settle church government, punish errours and blasphemyes, according to the covenant; another, remember your often declarations for liberty for tender consciences; one, bring home the King according to the covenant; another, it cant stand with the preservation of the true religion and liberty, etc. and thus for want of a downeright playne understanding of the foundation of this warre, without all equivocation, we have been likely often to have been embroyled in a more bloody, and by our quarrellings to give occasion to any third party to devoure all. To mention particulars would be voluminous. I dowpt not but you

heere of Hollis and that partyes hygh endeavours against the army, and so all whose interest was that way; of the armyes almost vnparrallellable proceeds against them, how neer this had brought us to blood, the Kings being taken from Holmsby by some of the army, and how curiously his party with himselfe had insinuated themselves into them, so that indeed no man knewe what to say or do at present, as I could hint at large in all partyes; how the King went of his owne accord from Hamptoncourt to the Ile of Wight, of the Parliaments propositions to him, with his answer to them, and the howses unexpected votes thereupon, which with their declaration I have sent you, with two more, one of which I desire my father may have, and the other for Mr. Shepheard. That which is now in acting is, the calling in question of those who were deeplyest engaged, in that fource upon the two howses, and the promoting of a new warre therupon, and a declaration about the Scots. That which is feered is a warre with Scotland. What the issue will be the Lord only knowes, only he seems to be shaking the great ones of the earth. In Fraunce have lately been practises in this kind. The story of Naples, with their successe, I suppose you have. Pardon my boldnesse thus farr; with my love and service to all my cosens, my humble service to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, Sir, I am your dutifull nephew

G. Downing.

Canonbury, Islingt: March: 8: 47.

Sir Arthur Hezilridge (with whom I live) is appointed Governour of New Castle upon Tyne, (which as to the present state of things, is the most considerable garrison in the Kingdome) and I am suddainely to go with him thither. The Lord graunt peace (if it be his will) betweene the two kingdomes, which if so, I suppose we shall returne againe to London ere the end of summer; howeuer, what

letters shall be sent to me, the safest way will be to direct to be left at the three pidgeons in Wallbrooke, London.

Sir, If it shall ever lye in my power in any kind to serve N.E. (to which I wishe very well) I hope I shall not be unwilling.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor my honored . . . . John Winth[rop] . . . . London, these. Deliver this to my sister Peters to be sent.

Sir, — I haue receiued yours of the 9th instant, and am very glad to heere of your good health, & thank you for your thoughts of my mother, but do not know how it is in my power to do more or better for her than is, at present. Shee is at my howse, not forty myles from London, in a good place & as yet well. Shee hath two of my children with her and hath the disposing of what is myne. For yourselfe and yours, I wish you all happynesse; & as for myselfe I thank God for what I haue enjoyed, yet it fares with me as with many others. I expect tis thought thrice as much as I have got.

I am Sir your most aff: cosen & humb: seruant

G. Downing.

Hague, May 16. 1662. Old Style.

Indorsed, "Sir Georg: Downinge, 1662."

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor my much honord Cosen John Winthrop Esq. London. These.

Sir, — I have receiued your very kind letter, for which I heartily thank you. You did me a great honour to be pleased to goe so farre to a dirty hoole to see my mother and

children, & you may be sure that shee is not, nor shall not be at command or finding of any seruant of myne, but on the other hand dispose of them. For what you write of a certayne earth there, which you think to be marle, I pray in what field or ground was it digged? for I [am] much in doupt I haue not any earth better than a claye there. I pray my hearty loue and seruice to your good lady and all my cosens; I am sorry my cosen was so confined in time that I could not shew him that kindnesse I would, and wishing you a very good voyage and safe arrivall, remayne

Sir, your most aff: cosen & humb: servant

G. Downing.

Hague, June 27, 1662, old style.

If you do write again to me, leaue it at my sister Peters, & so it will come safe to me.

Indorsed, "Sir Georg Downinge, Rec: July 1: 1662."

LETTERS OF SIR NATHANIEL BARNARDISTON.*

SIR NATHANIEL BARNARDISTON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worshipfull his assured loueing ffreind John Winthropp Junior Esqr. in New England, these dd.

Good Mr. Winthrop, — Yours of the 12 of January I receaued, & thanke you for your kind remembrance therin. I sent to your frend Mr. Hopkines, to desyre hym to take order for the transporting of your boy and mear to you, who returned me answar that the boy he would prouide for, (who I entend to send to you, if I cann, when I heare from Mr. Hopkines agayne) but for the meare, the custum for hir would cume to six poundes, besides all other charges, and therfor was vnwilling to medle with hir. I intend therfor to sell hir for you, and returne the mony for hir by hym about September next, God willing, if in the meane tyme I heare not to the contrary from you. I haue written to your father, which I intended to haue done by you, but was prevented by your vnexpected

* Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, knt., was High-Sheriff of Suffolk in the 23d of James I.; and was three times returned to Parliament for the county, and once for the borough of Sudbury. He was a zealous friend to the liberties of his country. His second son, Sir Samuel, was the first person to whom the name of Roundhead was applied, (Rapin's Hist. of Eng., vol. ii., p. 403, note 3). Sir Nathaniel died in 1653, and was the subject of many monodies in English, Latin, and Greek, which were published in a pamphlet entitled "Suffolk's Tears; or, Elegies on that Renowned Knight, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston." (Lives of Eminent and Remarkable Characters in Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk, pp. 15, 16.) Thomas Barnardiston, his great-nephew, married Mary Downing, sister of Sir George, who entailed his whole estate on their son. This son, Serjeant Barnardiston, died without issue in 1752; and the estates went to the endowment of Downing College. The Barnardistons are still honorably represented in Suffolk, where they have been seated for more than twenty generations. Ketton (or Kedington) is not far from Haverhill. — Eds.

sodayn departure, whear in I pray you to excuse me to hym. So desyring you to remember my best loue to hym & your mother, with Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Welde, Mr. Ward, with the rest of our all good frindes & acquaintances, beseeching them to pray for vs, as we doe for [them,] wee all hear salute you, beseeching the good Lord to be with you, & to prosper you in all your wayes to his glorey. I rest

Your euer most assured loving frind

NATH: BARNARDISTON:

KETTON, Aprill 5th, 1636.

SIR NATHANIEL BARNARDISTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my most assured loving frend John Winthrop Esqr. in New England be these dd.

DEARE SIR, — These few lines in hast are only to salut you & yours, and to let you know that I shall neuer be vnmindfull of you in my best affectiones, as allso to certefy you that I have receaued no letter from you or your sonn, though I have written to you both by Mr. Clarke, a minister, who I understand is safely ariued with Mr. Rogers, as allso of the boy which I sent you, who I desyre may giue you good contentment. I expected to haue hard how you would haue the mare disposed of, which, acording to your appoyntmend, I gaue your sonn, whether to be sent you or sould for your vse, and to whom you would haue the mony payd. I haue yet kept hir, vntill I might know your determination therin, as I wrote to your sonn, & expected now his answare. Blessed be our good God, we all heare inioy our healthes in some competent manor, though accompened with noe smale trobles, whear of I doubt not but you will hear at large by others. It is the portion that the Lord hath

ordayned for his in this life, who in his superabundant goodnes turneth all thinges to the best of his. Euen so be it. So in the remembrance of myne and my wiues best & intire loue to you and all our good frindes with you remembred, as if I should perticularly name them, I commend you all to the blessed guidance of the Allmighty, and rest

Your euer most assured loving frind & brother
NATH. BARNARDISTON.

KETTON this 4th of Aprill, 1637.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Sir Nath: Barndiston, Answ:"

SIR NATHANIEL BARNARDISTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my Honored and assured loving freind John Winthrop esqr gouernor in New England present these.

DEARE BROTHER AND INTIRELY BELOUED, — I receaued two letters from you the last returne: at that tyme it pleased the Lord to visit me with a great & long sicknes, to the great hasard of my life, but it pleased the Father of Mercies and God of all Consolations to heare prayres, and to rayse me from the gates of the graue, and to lend me (most vnworthy) sume longer tyme the better to fitt my selfe for Hym, and to try how farr that correction would worke my vnruly & poluted hart to better obedience, and frame it to improue the remaining talant of my tyme in the glorifiing of Hys name, and advan[c]ement of His Honor, for which I euer desyre I may acknowledg with all thankfullnes, and bless and prayse His abundant free grace and goodnes to me, and provocke all that know and affect me to ioyne in assisting and helping me in the same, which I humbly craue of you with confidence and assu-

rance. And now the Lord hath put me vpon a tryall, by caling of me, with Sir Phillip Parker, (alltogether vnsought for) to serue for my countrey in the Parlament which is to begin the 13th of Aprill next. I haue nothing to supporte me in this great busines, being contious to my self of my most vnfitnes euery way, but the allsuffitience of Hym that caled me cann inable me, who deliteth to manifest His powre by contemtable & weake meanes. His couenant & cale is the only supporter of my fayth hear in. Help, I beseech you, Sir, with all the might and force you can make, this great work; which if it suckseed not well, is like to proue exeding perrelous and dangerous to this church & kingdome. Now we see and feele how much we are weakned by the loss of those that are gonn from vs, who should haue stood in the gapp, and haue wrought and wrasled mightely in this great busines. My neighbor Mr. Pepis desyreth me to present his loue to you. We both thanke you for your loue to his sonnes. I know not yet how the Lord will dispose of me. This parlament will beget a resolution in vs, but I fear; I could wish sume of you wear hear before it endeth. Mr. Waldegraue soiorneth with me. I forget not you in your apoynted tyme. I doubt not but you doe the like for vs. The Lord hath made me a grandfather by my daughter. My son is yet a single man. I often consceaue in my sleep that I am with you. My self and wife salute you and Mrs. Wintrope with our best affectiones, beseeching the Lord to prosper you all in all your vndertakinges to His glorey. Salut in the Lord all our dear frindes with you, as if I named them in perticular. So resteth

Your most assured loving frend & brother,

NATH. BARNARDISTON.

KETTON, March 15th 1639.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Sir Nath: Barnardiston. Resp. per the Sparrow, J Bradshawe &c."

SIR NATHANIEL BARNARDISTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my much honored & highly esteemed good friend John Winthrope Esq. Gouernor in New England these present.

Deare Brother, — It is trew I must confess that this is the thurd letter that I haue receaved from you scence you had any from me, but it is as trew that I haue written to you, and those that promised to cale for them fayled, wherby they miscarried, wherby my debt of thankefullnes is incresed that yet you would be mindfull of so vnworthy a friend, I hope now thorow my good friend Mr. Fenicke to prevent that for the future.

I could not haue immagined that the remouall of that that was the great impedment of Godlines among vs should haue produced so bad an effect thorow libertey of contience, espetially amongest those that would be esteemed pious, to so great a breach of charitey & loue, euen to the scorne & contempt agaynest the most reuerent & zeolous men of our devines, who cannot be taxed for any thing but that thay differ in judgment from them in dissiplyne, so that dissiplyne hath devoured all sinceritey, & oposission is now caled persecution. I am much amased, & it often saddeth my soule to behould so litle loue, which was wont to be the princepall badge of sayntes among vs, to be disregarded and wholy neglected. I cannot but much feare the euent of this great prouocation of the Allmightey. This seede of pride & contention I conceaue had his first beginning in your partes, the chang of the soyle hath vnhapily made it more spredding here by meeting with ciuill discentions. Sir, I acknowledg myselfe a presbiterion (yet such a one as can & doe hartely loue one humble & pious independant, such I meane as are with you, for ours differ much generally from them) only in this regard, in that I conceaue it consisteth best with the constitution of our gouer-

ment, & in that regard, if I weare with you, I should ioyne with you, for truly I cannot yet see any certayne & generall set forme of dissipline set downe in the word of God vniversally, if ther be, the Lord discouer yt to vs in his good tyme. But Sir, with horror & greefe I speake it, noe opineones & blasfemy is so bad, but that our Independantes heer generally will shelter & countenance, for all heresyes & sectes wilbe Independantes vnder this notion, that none should be trobled for ther contience though hurtfull to others. If thay would keepe ther opiniones to themselues, it would be the less preiudisiall, and this is the great calamitey of our place & tymes, so that our differences euen amonge those that would be estemed godly, & haue beene so accounted formerly, is like to proue more dangeros to vs then our ciuile warres. *Deus dat his quoque finem.*

I here Garton is vnder examination for his opiniones & blasfemies. Your friend I haue not beene so happy yet to see, to whom I shall indeuor to witnes my respectes to you. I yet liue vnder hope to see you here once agayne, & most hartely desyre it. The Lord grant it if it be his will. All your friendes hear of my aquaintance are well, but only Sir Wm. Spring, whome I feare is not of long continuance. My selfe & wife, & all myne hear present our best affectiones to your self & wife, & all our friendes with you. The good Lord be our guide & director thorow this our pilgramage here, so as we may not fayle to inioy glory together hereafter, which is the indeuor & prayre of

Your most affectionat loving friend & brother

NATH: BARNARDISTON.

WESTMINSTER, March 19th 1646.

LETTERS OF SIR WILLIAM SPRING.*

SIR WILLIAM SPRING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my Euer Honored & faythfully Beloued ffreind John Winthup Esqr. att his house att Boston in New England.

Most beloued & still honored Ffreinde & Brother, — Itt is your charrety & not my words that I rely vppon for my fayrest & best excuse of my seeming neglect & faylings of the dues of loue, yett that you may not bee vnknowing of truths, giue mee leaue to tell you, I haue, I verely suppose, much ill happ for some of my letters & remembrances sent vnto you, for else I know, in your last I had from you, I should haue found mention of theire ariuall, seeing they had surely bin with you long before the date of yours to mee, if I could haue hope that you had them att all. But my last I hope better of, sent by my cossin Gurdon, that they haue saluted you, & still lett you know how desirous I am to liue in your brest, & hould the place I had wont. Though I could justly complaine of some accidents that (full ill against my will & hope) might in some construction render mee less deserving your continuing goode opinion then I hope I deserue: but I

* Sir William Spring was a knight of the shire in Parliament with Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston in 1628. He died, according to a letter of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in 1638; and it was probably his son who was created a baronet in 1641. Pakenham, the family seat from which he dates, is in Suffolk County, not far from Bury St. Edmund's. He was of the family of Thomas Spring, the rich clothier of Lavenham. Gov. Winthrop's parting letter to Sir William in 1630 is in vol. ix. of our Collections, third series, p. 227; and proves that their relations had been of the most confidential and affectionate character. — Eds.

avoyde those thoughts that may any wayes mooue mee to a jelousy of that loue I soe much couett. These lines come now by a meanes which my Brother Barn:* (now with mee) hath found out, but my time of warning is verry short & difficult for my enlargment, yett such times & oportuneties are soe scarse, as I may not nor will willingly pretermitt any that I cann lay hould of. Neyther is the time with vs heere soe free & sure to vs, as that I dare write you what I think & would you knew, neyther doe I euer expect a time for itt till wee meete in the hauen after our storms are passed. You that are vnder lee I hope forgett vs not that are yett in the storme, nor wee you (as wee may) for the encrease of Gods blessings. For my particuler, you want not a constant memory in my vnworthy servises. I would I were as able as desirous to enlarge my hart to you. As touching your mention of my kinsman & his estate, I haue I hope before this time satisfied you, how my affections & abilities stand inclined towards him, though happely soe farr short of his expectation (I am sure of his demands), as that I cann hardly beleeue I haue any way satisfied him. My cosin Gurdon did vndertake to returne a token for mee towards him, when I neyther had the liberty to write to him nor your selfe: I could much complaine of my ill success with him, in that (hauing disburst euen that which I assure you I haue since wanted for neerer occasions, & to which I am more bound) I haue giuen him or my selfe eyther soe little comfort or content in itt, as that I reape noe fruites but lamentable complaynings, immoderate demands, & some vnkinde expostulations, & in generall, giues mee cause to judg that nothing I eyther haue done or cann doe, is inough, or to any purpose. Itt almost discoraged mee for altogether, seeing hee writes to mee as if I had none else to respect, or att least not as to one that would bee, (as heeretofore) free

* Barnardiston. — Eds.

in my charety, if I did not plainly foresee, that except I doe prejudice my selfe, & my neerer duties & occasions, (which are farr otherwise then hee conceyues of mee) I cannot come neere the 100 part almost of his requirings. Hee, poore man, is ignorant of our condition generally, & mine in particuler heere now: and minding himselfe only, forgetts his freind & his first terms & promises with mee, when, could I haue prevayled, I had stayd him vntill his strength might haue bin better to vndertake what hee would attempt too headily, & wherein (without my then forwardnes in a way beyond ordenary & his owne expectation) hee had fayled of all hee aymde att. But I haue writt a few lines to him, & sent them heereinclosed, presuming of your fauor to lett them bee deliuered to him, wherein I forbeare these particulers purposely, for I desire rather to pitty him then provoke him; what I would haue done for releife this spring I profess I could not, for meanes I could learne none to send by, nor now more then this letter. I hope amongst other you finde mee in the matter of seade you writt for, God prosper itt. I cann now noe more, both for paper & time. Vnto that God that disposeth all things by his Will & Wisdome, & that to the best for those hee loueth, you are dayly commended, & entreated to commend Your faythfull frend & brother

WLLM: SPRI:

To yourselfe & all & euery of yours, I hartely tender my best affections: farewell, farewell.

Aprill 16th 1636. From [PA]KENHAM yett.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Sir Wm: Springe. Recd this by Mr. Babbets ship."

SIR WILLIAM SPRING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Goode Cosin, — I thank you hartely for this your courtesy of sending these letters, & all other your goode wishes & affections expressed to mee & mine: yett this your letter comes to mee att such a time, as I assure you I am scarse fitt or att leysure to returne them soe decent & fitt an answer as I would, for though I am, I prayse God, reasonable well, yett att the instant I am in a phisicall vndertaking, which will not permitt mee hardly this liberty, but vtterly denies mee any farther to enlarge myselfe to you or to our deere frend in New England as I desire, touching whome (I perceyue by the hast of this returne, now sudden, & heeretofore vnknowne to mee) I cannot (as the case is now with mee) write to him as I would, & were most fitt; I shall pray you therefore to lett him know my honest and just reasons & excuse heerein written to you, and withall, whereas I perceyue hee hath farr beyond that proportion (which by you I did signifie I was content to bestow on my kinsman) disburst neere 20*li*, but in certainty I yett know not what, though I confess, considering my former disbursments, & soe many charges as I dayly meete with, amongst others of his kinred & mine that must haue releife from mee, I finde my selfe in those charges to haue runne a higher streyne then my owne priuate cares & necessary occasion will well allowe, yett when I know what my goode ffreind hath certeinly disburst (as I expect by his promise shortly to bee informed, by a letter from himselfe) I will take order that hee shalbee noe looser for his disbursments past, hoping that (as hee sayth) that debt beeing payd, hee will subsist of himselfe, who I assure you hath cost mee deepe, and to whome (considering the many more that dayly draw from mee) I am not able to doe more. In the meane

time, vntill I receyue particuler information of what itt is, espetially att this extreame sudden, I cannot tell what to send. I haue receyued Mr. Downing's receipt of 5*li* disbursed by you for mee towards the seade, which 5*li* I send you heere by your seruant, reseruing the note of receipt. I should be gladd to see or heere of the receipt of our disbursment in New England, whether I pray commend mee most hartely to our deere & worthy freind, & acquaint him fully with the perticulers of this letter, on my behalfe, & excuse for not writing now to him, which is to mee att this time impossible; and pray him to lett mee enjoy his loue & promise to write perticulerly to mee next time, and I shall (if God please) apply my selfe to his satisfaction. Forgett not, I agen & agen entreate you, to signifie these things to him; nor to continue your loue & prayers for & vnto Your faythfull ffreind & louing cosin

WLLM: SPRING.

PAKENHAM, 29 of August, 1636:

My wife with mee returne our true loues to you & my cosin, & all yours, & doe commend you all to the goode mercies of God, as wee desire the like from you att all goode times.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Sir Wm Springe, Answ:"

SIR WILLIAM SPRING TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my singularly esteemed & worthely beloued ffreind John Winthrop Esquier att Boston in New England these.

MOST WORTHELY ESTEEMED BELOUED FFREIND & DEERE BROTHER, — Were I as conscious of any willfull neglect of your loue & my due remembrance of itt, & necessary salutations or expressions of this kinde as I am of defect in all (though not voluntary), I should in a kinde of de

spayre wholly forbeare to putt you in minde of soe vnworthy a ffrend, but my hart is vpright with you, though my hand hath neyther bin able to serue my affections nor your merritts, in presenting you with requisite circomstances of assurance, that itt is soe: ffor not only meanes (or at least the timely knowledg of itt) hath too often beene wanting & preventing to my purposes, but, when they haue bin more free & fauorable, I haue wanted power to make vse of them. About New yeere last, I receyued a kind & louing letter from you by one Betts (as I remember) who came hether att a time when I had suffred a fortnights extreamitie before, & was att first not able to see him, or to think of any buisines; yett before hee went away, I came downe a part of the day, and as company & my infirmities would suffer mee, had a little speech with him, who (then hasting away & promising to come to mee att more conveniency) I hoped should haue bin the meanes of my sending to you, & my coss: Jo: Spring alsoe. Hee came agen indeede, when I was vtterly vnable to doe or take thought for any thing that way, for itt pleased God for 14 weekes I was in expectance of my passage to my last port; since I am in a crazie, vncerteine condition, neuer well, though not soe weake as I was; this lost mee the hope of that conveyance, the man telling mee hee was to goe to & by London back to you: I had little meanes (by my sicknes & trobles continuing) to heare or enquire of any other course, but att our last Assises, where with much adoe I forst my selfe one day, I mett my coss. Gurdon, who promised to send my letter to you, which now I hope you haue, testefieng my true loue to you, & by you entreating to haue my just excuse for not satisfieng the still important & large requests of my kinsman, to whome I haue made bould with you to enclose this letter. Truly, Sir, the summe & charge I haue bin att to this man is not after the due proportion & regard I ought to beare to my owne affayres,

& more neere duties, yett what I haue done hath not bin grudgingly, nor with a scant hand, I assure you. I beleeue in true account which (perhaps) hee considers not duely, more then true charrety (which is to looke home first) or right wisdome would commend, & I cannot nor may not prejudice my neerer requisites too much. I haue lately married my sonne, & abated my meanes largely, I cannot, nor (haue not to) doe as formerly, my owne necessary course & children require mee instantly to my vtmost, & mine owne particuler (as noe less the generall) burthens grow heauy to my present strength; besides charrety had neuer soe many objects (that may not bee neglected) amongst vs, honest & good men, abundance & in abundant wants; dayly somewhat issueth soe from mee & others, & must doe; & other poore kinred I haue too, too many, that dayly call for helpe, & must haue itt. I profess I neuer was streightned before. This Sir, for your satisfaction, that I am not vnmindefull, but vnable (for the present att least) to satisfie him, & I pray you make him sensible of the equitie & reason of itt, if you conceyue itt soe, & if hee contentfully accept of what I haue done, as God shall enable & enlarge mee heereafter, I shall not forgett him, but I desire hee spare mee yett. I could not heare, by Betts or other, of any shipps goeing by Ipswich, whether else I had sent something to this purpose, but lately, & now too late, as I am tould; I heare some goe or are gone. I perceyue by the lettre that you haue, for the releife of this kinsman of mine, disbursed some summe, but what you express not, nor haue I had one word to certefie mee thereof from him. What you haue done for my sake, & hee hath not nor can satisfie agen, I will not that you loose, but desire you will certefie mee what itt is, & I will not fayle (if God please) to satisfie you when I know itt: soe as hee sees I neglect not to doe for him still more, though in all he requires & as hee would, I cannot. Truly, such is my condition att

this present, as I haue much adoe to hould out thus farr in this labor, still so weake & vnseruiseable I am to my selfe: I must craue fauor to make goode all present defects, & your goode beleife that I haue a will, though att present streightned & prevented, to giue you larger assurance & better testemony of my faythfull affections. Your charrety without asking, affords me, I am confident, the benefitt of your prayers, yett I craue them alsoe, & by your meanes euen to bee remembred amongst you, as I dayly in my poore way remember you all. Salute all I know particulerly, I beseech you, that are with you, with my harty loue & best desires of goode: and think of mee still the thoughts of a loving ffrend. The less I deserue itt, the greater goode itt is in you, & the reward shalbee to your owne bosome, whether I desire to convey myselfe, & to liue there, as wee may to hir alsoe that ownes that place spetially, my wife & I commend vs, & to all yours, & hartely commend you all to Gods goodenes & grace.

Your vnfeyned louing ffreind & faythfully affected brother WLLM: SPRING.

PAKENHAM, Mar: j^mo^: 1636.

What my kinsman hath formerly charged you, & cannot himselfe discharg, I pray signifie, & I shall take care for itt. But yett I must entreate him to spare mee, for my more necessary care & cost command my first respects, & soe after times (if God lend mee life) may afford more liberty & remembrance of him that way.

LETTERS OF BRAMPTON GURDON.*

BRAMPTON GURDON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my muche honerred frend Mr. Jhon Wenthrop at Boston in Neu England, be thes I pray.

My worthy good Frind, — I haue resayued your letter of the 24 of Jeun. I reioyes to hear of Godes mersy expressed to your plantatyon in generall & to yow & yowers in the perticuler I thancke you for your care of my sonn, I hoped his passing by see & then the cheng of ayer would haue so changed his weacke body to a more abule body for the performans of that which his years & statuer mought exspect. I haue before now found fault with him for his so bad writeng, but I now impeut it to the weackenes of his joyentes, so as he is not abule to gyed his pen as heartofore. He writ better 4 years past then he doo now. I doo perswad him to put himselff to soum suche exersyes as may infors his sweatteng, the which I thincke should be especyally good for him, as I now fyend his condecyon, I may fear he is to burdensoum to you, but by Godes helpe I am verry welling to macke good any thing for his charge as you shall desyer. Sir,

* Brampton Gurdon, Esq., was High-sheriff of Suffolk County in 1628. Mr. Savage tells us, in his "Notes on former Gleanings" (Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. x. p. 131), that "he had been made sheriff of the county by the king, to punish his Puritanical affections, in preventing thereby his election to Parliament as one of the knights of the shire." His daughter married a son of Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was a near neighbor of Gov. Winthrop's (while he was at Groton), and an intimate friend; residing at Assington, where his descendants are still left. — Eds.

scins I resayued your letter I went to Jhon Brand, & found his sonn Joseff with him, for so I desyred. When I had sheued Joseff your not of the perticeuler layenges out, & the not of the goodes scent his brother Beniamen, he tould me he could say nothing till he had loked in his bocke at London, [*torn*] as he tould me he should be gone thether, & after he had veued his bocke he would writ to you. I shall not slack to put him in mind to geu satisfaccyon. I scent my sonn Brampton to my cosen Ryes to acquayent him as yow desyred. Vpon Saterday last I reca[y]ued a letter from Jarmen Pyen which informed me a ship was to goe doun to Grauesend the later end of this wecke, that is goeng for New England, which caused me to hast a man to Sir W. Spring to acquayent him so muche as conserned him in your letter. His answer is in desyreng me to exceus him to yow, but I am contented to scend you his owen lette[r], the which may geue you the best satisfaccyon. He is now in parly, & I hope it is concleuded for a mache with his sonn & Sir Hamund Strange's dafter. He is to haue 4000*l* at the lest, with a hansome, well bred gentelwoman. It hathe faulne out verry hard with the shipe whear in Mr. Nathaniel Rogers* imbarked himselff, his wiff who locke for at the end of 7bur, 4 children, & 3 other pore fameles out of this towen; won is Robinson that liued in Litle Waldenfeld, with his wiff & 6 children; they went abord at Grauesend the furst of Jeuen, & haue euer scins ben houareng to the Ile of Wite, & this day Mris Crane, their scister, & Mris Rogers mother in law tould me her husband had a letter from them from Plimworth, writ on Saterday scenight. This will fall exceding heui to dyuers in the ship who had mad som prouicyon for thear liuelyhod in New England. Thay will be inforsed to spe[nd] it before thay goe, & all for want of a constant Est wind.

* Rev. Nathaniel Rogers arrived in New England, 17th October, 1636; which decides the date of this letter. *Winthrop's History of N.E.*, i. 205. — Eds.

Thay haue had the wind for a day or 2, & then brought backe agayen. Thay haue had dyuers feruent prayers to geue them a good wind, but the tyem is not yet coum for God to haue the prayes of it. My sonn Saltonstall doo dayly expect his coummeng. I haue not time now to writ it to him whot this day I hard, I pray thearfore doo him word of it: & thus praying God to kep vs in His treu fear, with my wiffes & my best respect to [you &] to Mris Winthrop in all treu affeccyon remembred, I rest

Your euer asseured louing frend

BRAMPTON GURDON.

ASSINGTON this 30 of August.

I sheued Sir Nathanyele your remembring of him.

BRAMPTON GURDON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my muche honored frend Jhon Wenthrop Esquer geu thes at Boston in New England.

MY WORTHY GOOD FREND, — The last leter that I haue resayued from you being 24 of Jeuen 1636, I was then glad thearby to hear of your good helthe, with all yowers, & so I hope God still continue the same, to his glorry. I would I could writ you anithing licke to geue commfort to eny honest Engleshe myend, for good to churche or comonwelthe; the hed is scick & all the memburs out of frame. We haue a trayter, a naybur, discouerred, the eldest sonn of the Lorde Skinner of Lanham parck, a papest if anithing, a notorius swagerer. When he was in an alhous with Tom Dande, Sir Gorge Waldegraus lat clarck, (Sir Gorg dyed the sabothe before our twelft scessyons) he eused this spech; I haue spent my forteunes, & I will goo to Romm, but I would doo sommwhot that I mought be spocke of after we are ded, & after this he expressed

his desyer to kile the king; he had the licke speche to Harry Copenger, the dockters brother, & thes 2 are his sceuerrall acceusers. I will now informe you of 3 of our newconformetans in this dyosses; ther is won Briges, ceurat to Mr. Legat, at Barnam Brome near Norwich; he had begot his moters mayed with child, who descouerring so muche, & bewayleng her selff to him, he aduised her to be content & scylent, & to met him next morning in a feld, which it scem is within the libertis of the scitte, she prepared to do as he dyrected her, but agenst his direccyon she tould a sister that she was to goo she knew not whether: the sister desyred to goo with her, till she should tacke hors; the currat comming & sceing 2 wemen, he would not rid to them but returned, & indeuerred in the euneng to speacke with her, blameng her that she had acquayented any with her jurny; she exceused & sayed it was to her scister, then he charged her not to speacke a word to any, but to met him the next morning; & that fore none she was found ded in the plas, & as is judgged strangled with her apern string, the which lay a rod from her body. It is sayed a shepperd ded see them thear together, yet he deny the murther, but confes he got her with child; it is sayed that soumbody had had the eues of her a litele before or after her stranglin. We had won parson Fockes of Erles Some & another parrish thear near, he had scet vp a fram of a hous vpon ground he pretended right vnto, but his aduersary Starling hired won to disquiet his buldeng, who with a hachet endeuerred to beat out the vnder beamms, the parson hearing him, he & his man cam feuryously, the on with a pichforcke, & the man with a hege stack, mad him to run. They purseued him, & ouertocke him, he strocke him aboue the forhed with the pichforcke, which forsed out part of his brayens, & after camm the man, & gaue him a blou with the stack, but not so mortale. The crouners quest found this manslauter, & hear upon they had thear tryale, & allthoughe

thear apered muche males befor, yet thay wear conuict only of manslauter. This tryall was this lent assyses before Justes Crock, & thear atended our 2 reuerent docters Godde & Warren; the parson was tried withought the gayele, the master had his preuileg of presthod, & thearfore had noe clargy tendred to him, so escaped burning: the man now leget but repryued for his pardon. This man at his tryall tocke the fact vpon him, in hop, as was thought, that his master would purchas his pardon.

The 3 mongst haue ben this. Mr. Daulton minester at Woluerston being this somer won of the 60 reuerent men, he & Mr. Stansby depryved, the other suspended, as you shall hear. Bishop Wren perceued won Cole the ceurat at St. Mary Kye in Ipswich, vnder Mr. Sameuell Ward, & as is knouen he the cheff persceceuter of him in hye commicyon, for recompens of his sceruis he ingeniyously proceured him into this liueng. This Cole bearryeng muche mallis to Mr. Dalton, & to all his family, who had built him a smale houes heartofore near his parsonag; Mr. Dalton's kow would breacke into the glebe whear she had formerly had intertayenment, his mayed sceing her masters cowe in the glebe, ran to feche her ought. Cole sceing her, he rid to her & with a krabtre cogele beat her so, as for a month all thought she would not hav eskaped with lyeff. Our tyem plesing clargy grow exscedeng bould, thay haue wind & tyed with them, & littele or no gras to stay thear rage. God in mersy stay thear rage. Sir, as conscearning my sonn Edmund, I neuer ment he should be burddensoum to yow, & so I writ to yow, & I gaue that order to my sonn & dafter Saltonstall, I mad account when they went that I had monis coumming to me for clothe that I scent by Mr. Dellingan, I must tele you, I ded maruell when it was furst writ to me that yow had vndertaken him, that yow wear to haue the profit of his 2 bullocks, which wear licke to yeld no profet but charg till the spring followeng, only I hoped you ded geue him soum

imployment to helpe toward his charg. Good Sir, I sethen as I resayued your letter, gaue order to pay 20*l* to Mr. Douneng, as the letter dyrected me, & shall wellingly yeld you whot more yow desyer, & so I haue geuen order to my sonn Saltonstall. I haue had a purpos of haueng the boy to returne only in this regard, he haue a copy-hould tenement houlden of Do. Warrens parsonage at Melford, the boy shall if he liu to mid 7bur, be 21 years of age, I would haue him scele it, & then returne if God will, in the spring. I should be glad to fyend him met to maneg the stocke that I desyer to bestow vpon him, it may be 5 or 600*l*, I shall be glad to be aduised for the best conscedring his weack capasyte for the orderring of it. We are scorry to hear of your & Mrs. Wenthropes late callamyte, but we hope God will restore yow dobule coumfort, & thus with the remembrans of my wiffes & my treu loue to yow, your wiffe, & to all the branchis, I pray God to kep vs, resteng

Your euer asseured louing frend BRAMPTON GURDON.

Thear is a howes in Boxford now shet vp for the infeccyon of the plage.

I latly doo hear that your aunt Winthrop who liued in Suthworck is latly dede. I had allmost forgot to let yow vnderstand that on teuesday the 28 of Marche I met at Beury Sir W. Spring; he asked how to scend a letter to you. He promised to scend me a letter by 8 next morning, but ded not. He then, as allso at our Assyses, desyred me to desyer you from him to stay your hand in yeldeng so muche to his kinsman as heartofore. I fyend his desyer is to cut of his yearly mayentenans, aleggeng whot he haue don for him & other licke charges, that he in other plases goo thorou with. He haue ben in a great scickenes, that haue muche wasted his body. He haue latly marryed his sonn to Sir Hamund Stranges dafter.

APRELE 11th, 1637.

BRAMPTON GURDON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my worthy good frend Mr. Winthrop the Gouernor in New England be thes.

GUNFORD, this 13 of May 1640.

MY WORTHY GOOD FREND, — Your letters writ in the begeneng of Marc[h] wear verry welcoum to me, but I asseuer you I was muche taken with sorrow for your great losse thearin expressed, but that is not enoff, except we doo extend boueles of compacyon to a destressed frend, for which I am verry redy to joyen with any in so Christyan a deuty. Sir Nathaniele Barnston & I haue had often speche about it, we are bothe willing ayther to geu or to lend a greatter somm, only we would be glad to haue soum frend hear to vndertacke for the repayment at a year or 2 year if yow so desyer it. I haue had speche about this with your scearuant Tinker, he put vs in hope that your brother Tindall will doe it for you, the which if he will I shall wellingly lend 100*l*, now Sir Nathaniele would willingly vnderstand which wear the best for yow, to lend or to geue. We cannot thinck to hear from you so sone, as your necessyte m[a]y requyer soum more spedy cors, thearfore, I resolue thus, I will now deliuer to your scearuant 10*l* for him to employ to your ewes till I hear further whot is your desyer. If you desyer by way of geft rather then to lend, I shall be welling to returne you 10*l* more, bothe of geft, or to lend you a 100*l*, hauing sceceuryte to repay it at a year, or for longer tyem. We are hear in verry hard condicyon in regard our parlament is desolued, but let me tele you it comforteth the hartes of the honest men of bothe housen that thay yelded not to geue a pene to help the King in his intended ware agenst the Skottes, nor the cortyers of the hous durst not moue to conscyder whether to haue ware or peas, but the King fyending the hous was bent for peas,

as not sceing any caus of war, he desolued the hous. The King scent erly in the morning to speacke with the speker; when he was coum to him he tocke him into his barg & carryed him in to the vpper hous to make sceuer he should not goo into the nether hous to preuent the howes from protestyeng agenst the ware, ship mony, & conduct mony, which greu burdensoum all the kingdoum ouer. On teuesday the 5 of this, the parlament was dissolued; the next morning on of the Scecretaris cam to the Lord Brockes hous thear by the Lord Say, & scearched bothe thear stodyes, & lickewis others went & scearched Mr. Jhon Hamden, Mr. Pem, & Sir Walter Earles closet. Sir Water was abrod when thay cam. Thay tocke away a trunc[k] from Mr. Pim, thinkeng thear had ben that thay sent for, but it proved aparrele.

I doo not hear thay haue gayned thear payens. On weddensday in the eueninng, a messenger cam with a Scecretaris leter to Miles Corbetes chambur, warneng him with sped to repayer to him, & to bring all papurs that he had resayued. Miles was called to the chayer, for matter conserning religyon, & thear cam many biles agenst B. Wren; he apered, & cam well off. You shall hear of wors doinges, & so I pray God to kep vs in pes. Good Sir, pray for vs hear in ould England. I pray commend me to your selff & wiff.

I rest your louing frend B. Gurdon.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Br: Gurdon. Resp. per the Sparrow."

BRAMPTON GURDON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[To] my worthy good frend [J]ohn Wenthrup Esqure at Boston in New England be thes I pray.

My worthy good Frind, — It was this wecke before I resayued your letter to me, with your letter to my wife, for bothe which we acknowledg ourselues muche behoulding to yow. I bles God who stile contenues me aliue. Thes distracted times occasions of much beusines to them that are in plas to reforme. I thancke God who assists me in it. I haue brout Babur * hundred to that pas as thear are not aboue 2 lisensed alhouses in all the hundred, yet to many picher housen, for which I doo my indeuer to ponishe suche as can be proued to me so to be. Sir, I now thincke to let you vnderstand of a differans betwixt the tounsmen of Groton & Boxford, the diffrans abut the extent of the prist fild belongeng to Payton Hall, & lye from the pound toward Payton Haull. Boxford alou Groton but 10 akers, & Groton challeng 20 akers. Now this sayes Ro. Golston, that he in the tyem he sarued yow, & attending yow along by that fild, yow fownd fault with the ploueing vp of a mear that parted the bounds of the touns, by which mens the minester of Groton lost a good part of tithe, & Tom. Goslin say he had hard Mr. Nicolsonn say he was ould & not welleng to goo to lawe, but in the men time he suffred the wrong. Now the farmer suffer, who is now charged in Groton for 20 akers, & Boxford alou but 10. Now if you doo remembur the wrong in plowing vp the mere as Golston report, I pray writ your best remembrans, it may be a mens to rectyfy this deffrans. The land was Sir Ro. Crans when he liued. I hau no

* Babergh. — Eds.

tyem to inlarg at this tyem, only I desyer yow to accep the return of myen & my wifes trew loue to you & to Mris Wenthrup. I pray God to kep vs now & euer, & so I rest

Your euer asseured frend BRAMPTON GURDON.

ASSINGTON, this 12 of Aprele, 1645.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Gurdon, Rec. per Mr . . ."

BRAMPTON GURDON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

ffor my worthy good ffreind Mr. John Winthrop be these att Boston in New England.

MY WORTHY GOOD OLD FFREIND, — I have not long since received two lettres from you which adde much comfort to my life. I am very glad to heare of your health, & to see your ability so to write. Age much impaires both my sight & heareing, which enforceth mee thus to make vse of helpes.* God hath vouchsafed mee a long pilgrimage in this world. God enable mee to stand out His tyme to His glory & my comfort. Yf God spares mee but an other month I shall be 83 yeares of age. Heere goes some speech of a New England couple that lately came from thence, the husband first, and then the wife followed after, with what goods shee could gett together, but wee heare all her goods miscarryed, & shee escaped only with her life. The man was Canes sonne, a cloake seller in Birching Lane, whose mother was Mr. Willsons sister. The woman is returned to New England & resolves there to take another husband; I hope your

* This letter was written by an amanuensis, and is dated more than two months after the death of Gov. Winthrop. It was opened by John Winthrop, Jr., and indorsed, "Mr. Gurdon, 1649, to my father." — EDS.

lawes will not tollerate such wicked actions. My daughter Saltonstal hath laboured to add lading to a ship with Currantoes out of this countrey, which will afford you more intelligence then I am able to write. I pray remember my best respects to Mr. Cotton, Mr. Willson, & to your selfe, with all yours. And so I pray God to keepe vs all in His feare & favour, resting

Your very louing frind BRAMPTON GURDON.

ASSINGTON this 6th of June, 1649.

LETTERS OF ABRAHAM SHURT.*

ABRAHAM SHURT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull John Winthrope Esquire at Boston. Recom-e[n]ded to a freinds conveyance.

PEMAQUID, the 28th of June 1636.

WORSHIPFULL, — My dutye remembred with my prayers for your health, ettc. Sir, some 10 dayes past I wrote you by Mr. Allerton to which I referr me. Now you may be pleased to take notice that Richard Foxwill, cominge from the French at Pennobscott, spake with a boate of ours (draylinge for mackrell) & tould them that Wm: Hart had him comended vnto me, & that I should looke to my selfe, for that the French were gone to the Eastwards to fetch more helpe to take this plantation & others, & that they had left but five men at Pen: & withall that he had an English heart although he were with them: wishinge his

* Abraham Shurt, styled by the late Mr. Nathaniel I. Bowditch (the highest authority on such a subject) "the Father of American Conveyancing," and to whose memory Mr. Bowditch dedicated his "Suffolk Surnames," was one of the first settlers at Pemaquid. As agent of the proprietors, he had purchased the Island of Monhegan; and appears, from his own deposition, to have acted as a magistrate in 1626. Winthrop relates, that in September, 1631, he "sent home James Sagamore's wife, who had been taken away at the surprise at Agawam." In June, 1632, he narrowly escaped death in the destruction of his shallop by the explosion of a barrel of powder near "Pascataquack." A person of the same name appears to have been town-clerk at Pemaquid in 1688. His name is sometimes written by others Shurd, and sometimes Short. *Winthrop's Hist. of N.E.*, i. 61, 79; *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, i. 242; *Savage's Geneal. Dict.* — EDS.

freedom from them; & that he knowes a meanes to take Pennobscott with five men without losse of bloud. This the master & purser of our shippe tould me: cominge hither for my lettres for England. Here comes natives from thence & sayes that they will remoue to some other parts, they are soe abused by them. Me seemes they should not leaue such a small crew at home, neyther blason their intents. It is lamentable that a handfull should insult ower a multitude. We must feare the worst, & strive our best to withstand them. They wrote vnto me of desired freindship & amitye, with mutuall correspondence: & they pretended the same at their beinge here: A Franciscan ffryar insinuatinge vnto me that Mr. Comander & Mr. Donye desired nothinge but fayre passages betwixt vs, & that he was sent purposely to signifie so much vnto me. This is the relation that I heare from them, which I conceive you would willingly be acquainted withall. I haue not elce to inlarge, at present, doe comitt you & your affayres to the guydance of the Almightye.

Your Worships in all service

Abraham Shurt.

ABRAHAM SHURT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Worshipfull John Winthrop, Gouernor of the baye of Messathusett. dlr.

Aldworth-towne, the 8th of 8ber 1638, a°.

Worshipfull, — My dutie remembred, ettc. Sir, occasion presentinge to me for a parcell of Dutch tradinge cloth, & wantinge there for the payment of it, shall desire you to paye vnto Mr. Tho: Milward the Thirtye pounds accorded vpon for the charge of the protest. I am in-

formed by an easterne native that the Kerkes * have taken two plantations in Canada. Not presentinge else worthye your notice, I take leaue & ever rest

Your Worships to be comanded

ABRAHAM SHURT.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Keayne, you may deliuer Tho: Wheeler his work. Jo: Winthrop, Gou^r.

9: 26.
1638."

ABRAHAM SHURT TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop, Gouernor of the Baye of Messthusett. dd.

PEMAQUID the 16th of Julye 1638.

WORSHIPFULL, — My dutye remembred ettc. Att my cominge from the Baye to Richmonds Iland, I sent the first bill of exch: for the 100*l*, & the 2d by the way of Bristoll, & arrivinge hither I receiued a lettre from Mr. Elbridge, in which he writes that he had receiued 100*l* of Sir Rich: Saltonstall, in part of the bill of exchange & dammadge, & now I haue written vnto him to retourne the bills agayne, beinge confident that he will, without presentinge them: & to that ende I haue sent vnto Mr. Mayhew that he may forbeare the payment of it to Mr. Ballard. Had I knowne of the receipt of the 100*l* I would not haue sent the bills for England. Not presentinge elce at present, I take leaue & rest euer

Your Worships to command

ABRAHAM SHURT.

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* Quebec was taken and garrisoned by Sir David Kirk and his brothers in July, 1629. — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vii., 2d series, p. 52. — EDS.

ABRAHAM SHURT TO ROBERT KNIGHT.

ALDWORTH-TOWNE the 17th of June 1639.

MR. ROBT. KNIGHT, — When it shall p[l]ease God to send you to the Baye, demand of Mrs. Milward for Mr. Elbridge his letter, & shew it with the Invoyse vnto Mr. Winthrop, togeather with his letter, & Dills accompt & his letter, & take vpon my note from Mr. Winthrop touchinge Dill. Comend me to Mr. Mavericke, and if Mr. Ludlowe be there demand his accompt of him and procure an ende vnto it: & for Mr. Hickford, be earnest with him, and alsoe for the bill of 10*l.* dew to me, & to any one else that are indebted vnto vs: ratifyinge & confirminge what you doe therin, as if I were present, & thus wishinge you a safe retourne I ever rest

Your lo: freinde ABRAHAM SHURT.

Witness herevnto

HENRY CHAMPNEY JR.

Mr. Milward, lett me intreat you by vertue of this order, to call Gorge Dill of Salem before the gouerner, and end the account which stands in shut betweane vs, by reason that I am now bound for Pemaquid, and cannot continew any longer in these parts, my occations being vrgent to goe. Whom and what you shall doe therin we shall allowe, as well dun. He hath put vs to a great deale of charg in coming soe far to end his account, and I hoope that you will recouer som what for it. Soe I rest, in Bostowne the 11th July, 1639,

Your lo: ffrind to command ROBERT KNIGHT.

Indorsed by Robert Knight, "A Remembrance from Mr. Shurt."

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS, &c.

SIR HENRY APPLETON'S* ACQUITTANCE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Decimo quarto die Decembris Anno Domini 1613.

Memorandum. that I, Sir Henry Appleton of South Bemflett in the Countie of Essex, Knight & Barronett, haue reseyued & had of John Wentrop of Growghton in the County of Suff. gent., the somm of fifte and seauen pounds and ten shillings for the fyne for the admittance of his son Forth Wentrope to those copyholde Lands which are holden of that my mannour of Layham in the County of Suff. wherof I reseyued forty nyen pounds & ten shillings by the hands of Thomas Hawes of Moch Stambridge in the County of Essex yoman & the residew of the saide Mr. Wentrop. I say Receyued the daye & yeare aboue written the som of ○ lvij*li* xs.

Henry Appleton.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Sir Henry Appleton's acquittance for lvij*li* xs for Forthes fine, &c."

* Sir Henry Appleton, bart., is believed to have been descended from the same John Appulton of Waldingfield Magna, Suffolk, from whom came the Appleton Family of New England, to one of whom we are indebted for the Appleton Fund, from the income of which this volume is printed. He was the son of Sir Roger Appleton, who married a daughter of Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Moulsham. Sir Henry married Joan, daughter of Edward Sheldon, Esq. The title became extinct in 1710. *Memorial of Samuel Appleton*, p. 53, *note*. — Eds.

WALTER CLOPTON* TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Good Cosen, — Sir Symone Dewes promised me last terme, vpon his honesty, that he woulde ioyne this Terme for publication. I desier to haue the bookes sent downe; my father will pay you the charges & satisfy your man, if you please to command him to follow it for me. The debt I owe you I desier you would deferre till the assizes, where I shalbee & cleere all. I would intreat you to make a motion for those writings that I was commanded to bringe into the Court, that they may be deliuered againe to me. The deed of entayle is that I cheefly ayme at, made by William Clopton to Thomas Clopton. I haue forgott the names of the rest, but I thinke they are all together with that. I pray excuse me that I am thus troublsome. With my best love, truly I rest

Your faythfull friend & kindsman

Walt: Clopton

Sir, if you please, I shall intreat you to lay out what moneyes my cosen Winthrop shall demand for the takinge out of the depositions, & I will restore them at your returne: also that you woold command your man to solicite Mr. Winthrop that I may not fayle of my desires in this letter, which I haue left open for you to read. Sir, I wish you a prosperous iourney & a safe returne, resting

Your louing sonne in law to command

Walt.[R] Clopton.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Clopton ad Sir Dewes. Lettre R. June 13, per Sir Ro: Thornton."

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* Walter Clopton, second son of Sir William Clopton, was a cousin of Gov. Winthrop's second wife. He married the eldest daughter of Sir Roger Thornton; to whom the latter part of this letter was evidently addressed, probably before the year 1627. — Eds.

MILES CORBETT* TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his verie loving friend Mr. Winthrop at his chamber at the Inner Temple, on the right hand before you come at the Cloister.

Mr. Wintrupp, — I hav sent up 200*li* to be paid into the Court of Wardes, which is for the half yeeres rent of the leass, as also for the paiment now this half yeer for the wardship of the bodie. If ther be any other paiment, I will see it descharged at my coming to London, which wilbe about the 18 of October. I pray your directions to this bearer where & when to pay it. Thus ceasing further troubling you at this present, with my harty salutacion vnto you, I comend you to the Almyghty, & rest

Your feithful frend Miles Corbett.

Sprowston† 6 October 1628.

WILLIAM AMES‡ TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my honorable friend Mr. John Wintrop, with his associats for New England.

Honorable Sirs, — My dayly prayers unto God, shall bee for the good successe of the buisines yow have undertaken. And for my self, I longe to bee with yow, though I doe not see how I should satisfie the opinion & exspectation which yow have conceyved of mee.

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* Miles Corbett was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, and was returned as a member of Parliament for thirty-seven years prior to the restoration of Charles II. He was tried as a regicide; and executed at Tyburn, 19th April, 1662. *Caulfield's High Court of Justice*, pp. 51–54. — Eds.

† Sprowston, a parish of Norfolk County, England. — Eds.

‡ William Ames, D.D., the great Puritan preacher and theologian, the author of the "Medulla Theologica" and other treatises, was a professor in the University of Franeker, in Holland; whence this letter was dated. He died at Rotterdam, November, 1633, aged fifty-seven, before he had fulfilled his purpose of coming to New England. — Eds.

I purpose therfor (God willing, and sending no hinderance beside what I yet know of) to come into England in sommer, and (upon the news of your safe arrivall, with good hope of prosperitie) to take the first convenient occasion of following after yow. Concerning the directions yow mention, I have nothing to write: as being ignorant of special difficulties; and supposing the general care of safetie, libertie, unitie, with puritie, to bee in all your mindes & desires. If upon further information, any thing come in my minde, I shall bee ready to communicate the same with yow.

Thus with præsentation of all offices in my power, I rest Yours W. Ames.

Franek. Dec. 29.*

JOHN BRADINGE† TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir, — I haue now at last with the best advice I can get, perfected the deed of revocation & settling of your estate, as is herein mencioned. I desire you would presently write & seale duplicate thereof, whether you come ouer or no: as I tr[ust] you will. But if you doe, there is danger in it. ffo[r] the sealeing of a duplicate, you must seale both parts togither, & lay them one vpon another, & deliuer them both as your deed togither. And if you bring one of them in your pocket, it will do well. The reasons of this kinde of conveyance are to provide in these cases. 1. If you liue (which God graunt in mercy), then may your trustees secure by your estate more moneyes then

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* 1629. — Eds.

† John Bradinge was evidently a lawyer of the Temple, to whom Gov. Winthrop had intrusted his legal business. His allusion to the will of Isaac Johnson, in his second letter, was referred to on p. 20 of this volume. — Eds.

you write you shall need. 2. If you dye, liueing my lady, there wilbe provision out of all but her joynture. 3. If you dye without issue, then it wilbe serued before Mr. Samuells estate, & ingage him to pay the debts. 4. If you dye haueing issue, then is there no possible provision to be made, but by the woods, which now you haue power to settle thus, being ffee simple lands. And lastly, if you revoke on any occasion the lease for 99 yeares, then this lease for 21 yeares begins. And the reason why there is a restraynt of power of revocation [is that] else no man will venture any money vpon [*torn*] that is in a therd mans power to revoke. And I hope you will trust no man of whome you [are not] fully assured he will ioyne with you to alter any th[ing] at your pleasure. These things I write in regard I know not how God may inclyne your hart, to come ouer or not. Its now the last day of the tearme but two, and I am posting to the hall, therfore excuse the hast of Your faithfull affectionate friend,

Jo. Bradinge.

Temp. 26 Nov. 1630.

JOHN BRADINGE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worshipfull John Winthorpe Esqr. Governour, At Charles Towne in Newe England dd.

Sir, — One Mr. Hueson hath bene often with me, to write to you. It seemeth Mr. Johnson had some cowes of his (six as he sayth), of the deliuery of Mr. Endycott, without any authority to sell them. In Michaelmas Tearme last, he acquaynted me with his dislike of the bargen, & euer since he disclaymes it, & tells me he wrote as much to Mr. Johnson; & this morninge he shewes me Capten Endycots letter, that he had no authority. And

the scope of all is he desires he may haue his cattell agayne, to which you are best able to giue answere; I can giue none.

We are at a stand here about Mr. Johnson's executorship. You write he made a will there to conferme this here. How can this then be proued as his last? You write you haue sent it over, John Drake sayth he copyed it to that purpose, but none can be heard of. I beseech you Sir, let not your great occacions there cause an vtter neglect of the credit & honour of that worthy gentleman, who liues still in the harts of many worthy Christians here, and I doubt not but he doth liue as freshly there in your harts. I pray Sir, send ouer his will as soone as you can, and let his engagements be discouered if any were. It would be a great dishonour if his debts should not be payd, and who dares meddle, till they know all? I wrote lately to Mr. Dudley to the same purpose, so I hope hath Mr. Holled.

The Lord keepe you & prosper your designes.

Your Jo: Bradinge.

26: May, 1631.

"Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. Brading of Mr. Hewson."

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL* TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

ffor my worthy good ffreind Mr. John Winthropp, Gouernour of the Plantations at Conectecott Ryuer in New England, these dd. per Frs. Styles, whom God preserue.

Good Mr. Winthropp, — Being credibly informed (as by the inclosed may appeare) that there hath beene some

* Sir Richard Saltonstall, knight, one of the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony, came over to New England with Gov. Winthrop in 1630: and, though he returned home early in the following year, he earnestly befriended our country in England by thought, word, and deed; and was active with the Lords Brooke and Say and Sele, and other Puritans, in the first settlement of Connecticut. *Savage's Geneal. Dict. of N.E.* — Eds.

abuse and injurie done me by Mr. Ludlowe & others of Dorchester, who would not suffer Frances Styles & his men to impall grounde where I appointed them att Connecticut, although both by patent, which I tooke aboue foure yeares since, & prepossession, Dorchester men, being then vnsettled, & seekeing vp the Riuer aboue the falls for a place to plant vpon, butt findeing none better to there likeing, they speedily came backe againe & discharged my worke men, casteing lotts vpon that place, where he was purposed to begine his worcke; notwithstanding he often tould them what great charge I had beene att in sending him & so many men, to prepare a house against my comming, & enclose grounde for my cattle, and how the damage would fall heauie vpon those that thus hindered me, whom Francis Styles conceiued to haue best right to make choyse of any place there. Notwithstanding, they resisted hime, slighteing me with many vnbeseeming words, such as he was vnwilling to relate to me, but will justifie vpon his oath before authoritie, when he is called to itt. Therefore, wee haueing appointed you to be our Gouernour there; the rest of the Companye being sencible of this affront to me, would haue signified there minde in a generall letter vnto you, but that I tould them sithe itt did concerne my selfe in particular and might perhaps breed some jealousies in the people, and so distast them with our Gouernementt; wherevpon they advised me write vnto you to request you with all speede & diligence to examine this matter, & if (for the substance) you find itt as to vs itt appeares, by this information heerewith sent you, that then in a faire & gentile way you giue notice to Dortchester men of this greate wronge they haue donne me & let; (being the first that to further this designe sent my pinnace thither, at my owne great charge of almost a thousand pounds, which now is cast away by theire detaineing her so long, before she could vnlayd; and for which iniustice I may require satisfaction, as also for my

prouision, which cost aboue fiue hundreth pounds, and are now (I heare) almost all spent by this meanes, and not any palling as yet sett vp att that place where I appointed them; which had I but imagined they would haue thus greedily snatched vp all the best grounds vpon that Riuer, my pinnace should rather haue sought a pylate at New Plymouth, then to haue stayd ten days as she did, in the Bay, to haue giuen them such warneing thus to preuent me) & lett them spaire as (I am tould) they may very well, forth of that great quantity they haue ingrossed to themselues, so much as my proportion comes too, and if they haue built any houses therevpon, I will pay them theire reasonable charges for the same. But I pray you, either goe yourselfe with some skillfull men with you, or send Sergieant Gardiner & some with hime, to sett out my grounds (1600 akers) where it may be most conuenient, betweene Plimouth Trucking house and the falls,* according to my directions giuen both to the maister of my pinace and to Francis Styles, which I thinke they will not now denie me, vnderstanding what charge I am att (with others of the Companie) to secure this River mouth for the difence of them all, wherin I hope you will negelect no meanes, according to our greate trust reposed in you. Thus beseeching the Lord to prosper the worke begun, I commend you with all our affaires vnder your charge to the gratious direction and protection of our good God, in whome I am Your most assured loveing freind

RIC: SALTONSTALL

WHITEFREYERS, the 27th ffebruary 1635.

Pray you commend me after yourselfe, to your good wife & Sergieant Gardiner with his fellow soldier, whom I purpose, God willing, to visitt this summer, if he will prouide a house to receiue me & mine att my landing.

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* I had rather haue it towards N: Town, becawse I purpose to buyld there, & joyn with Mr. Hooker. — SIR R. SALTONSTALL.

SIR HENRY VANE* TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For his Worthy and much respected freind Mr. John Winthrop, the yonger, Gouernour of Connettiat.

Mr. Winthrop, — For as much as it hath pleased God to send Mr. Fenwicke into this country, and to call me to a distinct charge and care ouer the matters of this Plantation; I shall no way interest my self in the matters of Connetticut, any further then as a publike person of this body. So that in all these matters I shall wholy referre you to Mr. Fenwicke, who accompanys these lines to you. That which for the present I haue to commend to you, is a busines that concernes not only this state, but all the English upon the Riuer; that is to say, a cleare examination of the Pequots proceedings, and such expression of our minds to them, as in this case is requisite. To this end we haue thought fitt to send you a Commission, and to recommend to your consideration certaine instructions which containe the summe of our thoughts in that busines. And farther we do desire you to lay downe so much Wampam there as the Pequots sent vs, and we shall see you repayd heere. Your father will write to you what quantity it is of. For the skins, we shall send them by some of the Barkes that go to you. The oppertunity of Mr. Fenwick

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* Sir Henry Vane was born in 1612, and came to New England in 1635. The Rev. G. Garrard, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford, dated in September of this year, says of Vane, "Mr. Comptroller Sir Henry Vane's eldest son hath left his father, his mother, his country, and that fortune which his father would have left him here, and is for conscience' sake gone into New England, there to lead the rest of his days, being about *twenty* years of age. He had abstained two years from taking the sacrament in England, because he could get nobody to administer it to him standing. He was bred up at Leyden; and I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pymme have done him much hurt in their persuasions this way." — *Strafford Letters*, vol. i. p. 463. The next year after Vane's arrival in New England, he was chosen Governor of Massachusetts, but returned to England in 1637. He took his seat as a member of Parliament, in April, 1640; and occupied an influential and prominent position in the important affairs of the next twenty years. He was arraigned for high treason, on the 2d of June, 1662; and executed on Tower Hill on the 14th of the same month. — Eds.

and Mr. Peeters being with you may somewhat aduance this worke, and therfore I beseech you let not the occasion slip. As for other matters that concerne the mouth of the Riuer, and those that liue in the vpland, if you acquaint me with them, I shall giue you my aduise and assistance for establishing thing[s] according to justice, and the equity of the cause. Your owne wisedome is such I know as to lay vp such obseruations by you, as may be for the benefitt of the gentlemen, and may giue them some returne of their great disbursements; as also for counsell and direction how to setle things at the Riuers mouth; in all which you may be helpfull to Mr. Fenwicke, who is a stranger to those parts, and so I doubt but you wilbee. Thus in hast I rest

Your affectionate freind H: VANE.

BOSTON, 1 of the 5th month, 1636.

I haue sent you this paper inclosed, to acquaint you with what intelligence we haue receaued: what your knowledge can further adde, I am silent in.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Vane, afterw[ards] Sr Henery Vane."

THOMAS WELLES* TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. Wynthroppe Gouernour at the Bay present these.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, — I cannot but condemne my selfe of great ingratitude, in this my so long sylence, after the receipte of many free and vndesearued fauors from

* Thomas Welles, one of the first settlers of Connecticut; of which colony he was Secretary from 1640 to 1648, Deputy-Governor in 1654–6–7 and 9, and Governor in 1655 and 1658. He died at Wethersfield, 14th January, 1659–60. He was the ancestor of our late Associate Member, Hon. John Welles, of Boston. — EDS.

your Worship, for all which I haue not yet any oportunity to expresse my thankefull acknowledgement thereof, but by these fewe lynes, wherein I desire humbly to present my harty & vnfeigned thanks vnto you, as for all other manifestations of your loue, so for your great care & troble in restoreing vnto me my searuaunt out of the pawes of those desperat deluded cretures at the Iland, wherein he was fearefully intangled and insnared; a deliuerance, for which both he, and all his frynds, are euer bound to giue thanks to Almighty God, who made your Worship so happy a instrument as to accomplishe the same. What chardges ether your selfe, or any by order from you haue disbursed, I shall most gladly satisfie. My deare ffryend, Mr. Bellingham, sent me word that he paid for his passage by water, the which I shall thankefully repay at his comming to Conectecott, which he hath appoynted before his returne to the Bay.

I am sory to heare you haue such ill neighbours at Pyscataqua, which I feare will proue the reseptacle of such persons as stand disaffected to this State. I should gladly be aduised by your Worship & my worthy ffryend Mr. Dudley, what I might doe for the preuention thereof; haueing the disposeing thereof committed to my trust (from the Company) with Mr. Whiting, if he bring no other directions at his returne from old Ingland, if your Worships aduise, yt may rest, as yt is so long: Thus craueing pardon for my boldnes, I humbly take my leaue, & rest,

At your Worships searuice to be commaunded

THO: WELLES.

HARTFORD, this 16th of Aprill, 1639.

THOMAS WELLES TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his honored & much respected ffryend John Wynthrope Esquire, att his howse att Hartford present.

Honored Sir, — My due respecte premised. I haue receaued yours, and acknowledge your great care for the good of this commonwelth. I feare the Indeans may haue some deepe plott against the Inglishe, in killing the Indeans in seuerall howses of the Inglishe. Mr. Brewster hath sent me the relation of his mans death, which I haue here sent. I entend to morrowe morneing to wayte vppon you att Hartford. Yt is not safe in these cases to delay the tyme. Not els at present but rest, committing you to the protexion of the Allmighty, and remayne

Yours vnfeignedly Tho: Welles.

March the 25th. 59.

Indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "The Governour, Mr. Wells."

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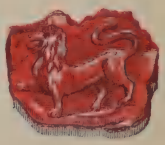

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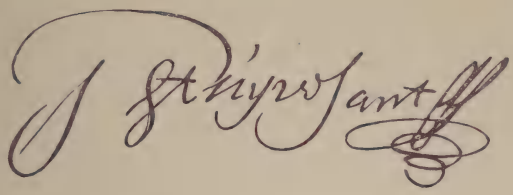

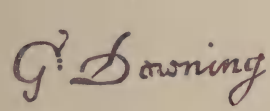

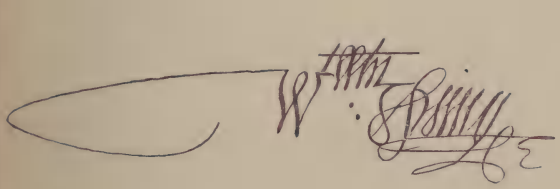

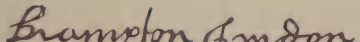

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Tho: Welles

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